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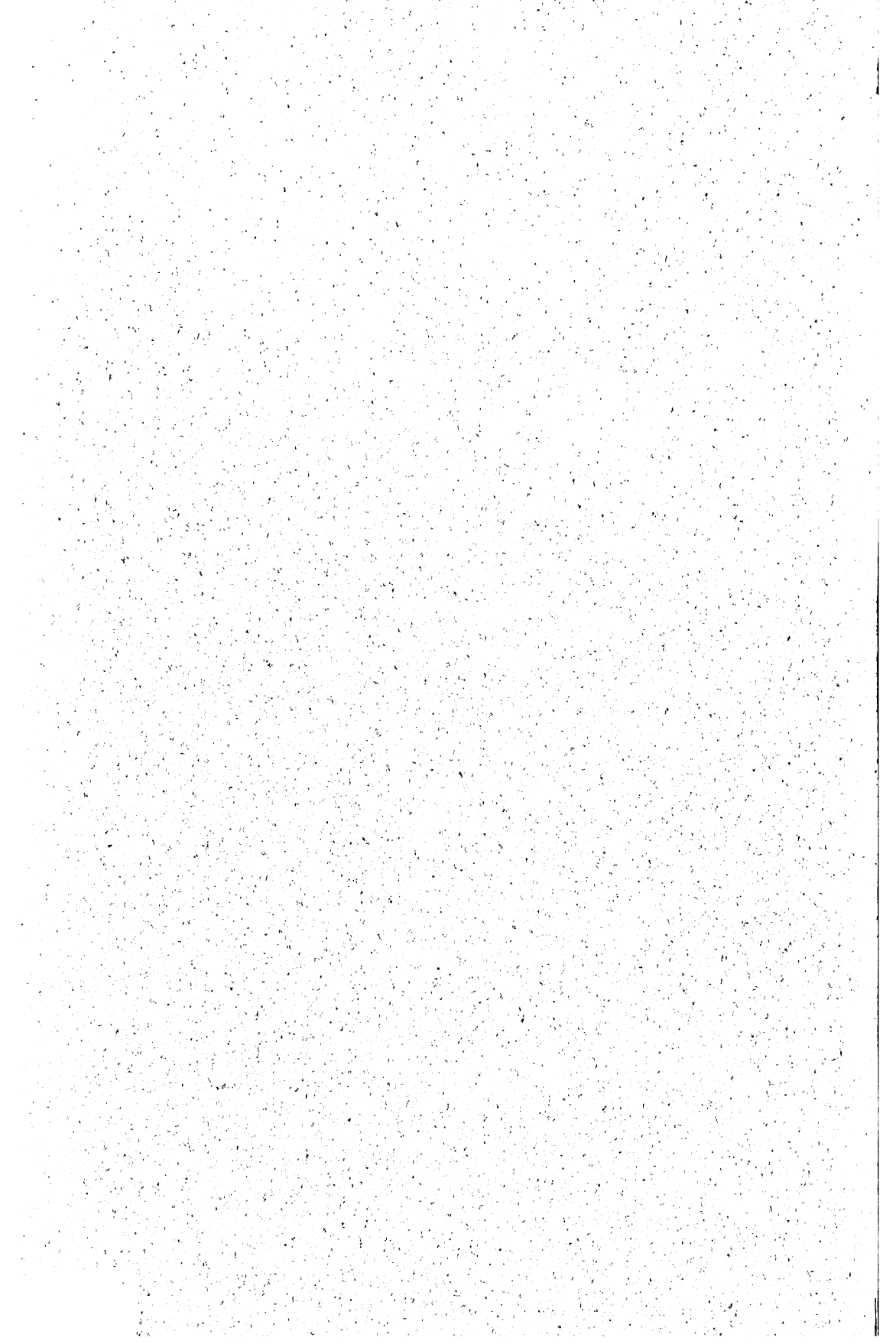
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

SOCIALISM IN GERMAN AMERICAN LITERATURE

BY
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Ye can discern the face of the sky and of the earth;
but how is it that ye do not discern this time?

—Luke 12: 56.

There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio,
Than are dreamt of in your philosophy.

—Hamlet, 1, 5.

Socialism in German American Literature.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.¹

Wo ich nütze, ist mein Vaterland.

The beginnings of modern Socialism as a fairly well defined movement may be considered as dating from the publication of the *Communist Manifesto* of Marx and Engels in 1848. However, the principles of Socialism are evident in the writings of Proudhon, Rodbertus, and others before this time. This movement like others similar to it was destined to spread to America, the land which furnished a fertile soil for many social experiments. The virgin soil of the New World appeared to the visionaries and discontented, as well as to the enterprising and oppressed to be that far-off Utopia where the individual might shake off the shackles of gray tradition, and create a social system which would not repress, but further his most cherished ideals.

Germany, the home of a class of individualists, who chafed under the political and economic revolutions of the third and fourth decades of the nineteenth century furnished many immigrants who sowed the seeds of the new movement in America.

Before this time, however, Germans had been coming independently and in groups. The thirteen colonies and among them especially Pennsylvania had become the refuge of numerous religious sects who had found life uncongenial in the Old World. Wars, religious persecutions, tyrannical governments, failure of crops, famines, and poverty drove the great mass of enterprising

¹ For the history of Socialism in America see: A. Sartorius von Waltershausen, *Der Moderne Sozialismus in den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika*, Berlin, 1890; Hermann Schlueter, *Die Anfänge der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung in Amerika*, Stuttgart, 1907; H. Semler, *Geschichte des Sozialismus und Kommunismus in Nordamerika*, Leipzig, 1880; Morris Hillquit, *History of Socialism in the United States*, New York, 1903; F. A. Sorge in *Neue Zeit* (Stuttgart) 1890-1892.

Germans from their native land.² The greatest influx began in the decade 1830-1840, when over 152,000 arrived. With the Revolution of 1848 increasing numbers came to our shores; the number had risen to 215,009 in 1854. The greatest number, 250,630, for a single year came in 1882. More Germans than any other single race crossed over to our shores in the last three centuries, and by far the greater majority came for political and economic reasons. To be sure the greater number came from the rank and file of the people, but among them was a generous sprinkling of educated liberals whose influence went far beyond their numbers.

EARLY COMMUNISM.

Before modern scientific Socialism developed there was a period when Communism was supposed by its advocates to cure all the prevailing ills of society. During the early part of the nineteenth century many new social schemes were hatched out in Europe and put on trial in America. Just as in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries America had become a refuge for numerous religious sects, so at the beginning of the nineteenth it became the soil on which these new theories of society were exploited. America was untrammelled by the restraining traditions of Europe, and it possessed practically unlimited freedom of speech and of the press, conditions which are always favorable to any kind of propaganda. Fourier's and Owen's systems were among the most wide-spread; the former chiefly among the better educated and the latter among the laboring classes.

Nordhoff in his excellent book,³ *The Communist Societies of the United States*, discusses eight societies as illustrations of successful Communism in this country. They are the Shakers (established in 1794 in the East, ca. 1808 in the West), the Rappists (established 1805), the Baeumelers or Zoarites (1817), the Eben-Ezers or Amana Communists (1844), the Bethel Commune (1844), the Oneida Perfectionists (1848), the Icarians (1849), and the Aurora Commune (1852). Of their origin he says (page 387): "the

² *Der Deutsche Pionier* XII, 148 (Rattermann); A. B. Faust, *The German Element*, Boston, 1909 (2 vols.) I, 582 ff.; Fritz Josephy, *Die deutsche überseeische Auswanderung seit 1871*, Berlin, 1912.

³ Cf. Bibliography for complete title.

Icarians are French; the Shakers and Perfectionists Americans; the others are Germans; and these outnumber all the American communists. In fact, the Germans make better communists than any other people—unless the Chinese should some day turn their attention to communistic attempts.”

The Shakers, the Rappists, the Zoarites, and the Eben-Ezers consider this life mainly as a preparation for the life to come. They attempt not primarily to beautify the worldly life and to enjoy it, but they renounce worldly pleasures and live in solemn anticipation of the life to come. The idea of the Socialists or other type of Communists of the thirties and forties was not to flee from the world but to reform it; not to repress natural instincts but to make them count; not to throw aside the arts and sciences but to cultivate them.⁴ Their idea was to arrange the world in such a manner that they might enjoy it; they wanted to draw heaven to earth. They intended to educate everybody and thus give each individual an opportunity to develop for the good of all.

The attempt of the talented Norwegian violinist, Ole Bull (1810-1889), to establish a colony in the rugged wilds of Potter County, Pennsylvania, about 1850, is an interesting chapter in the history of Utopian social experiments in America. The colony called Oleona after its founder was at first open only to Norwegians. Later, it seems, others were admitted, but as early as the fall of 1853 the colony was already breaking up. Ole Bull, who had sunk practically all his property, had to return to the larger cities and give concerts to gain a livelihood. The members were obliged to sell their property to get food. Even the thoroughbred stock donated by Cassius M. Clay had to be sold at a great sacrifice.⁵

Attempts at Communism of the worldly type were made at Teutonia, McKean County, Pennsylvania, New Helvetia, Missouri, Germania, Wisconsin, and other places in Pennsylvania and neighboring states; the history of these latter attempts is rather obscure.⁶

⁴ Cf. *Der Volks-Tribun* (New York), Sept. 26, 1846.

⁵ Cf. *Republik der Arbeiter* (New York), November 26, 1853; and the *New York Tribune*, May, 1853.

⁶ Gustav Körner, *Das deutsche Element in den Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika, 1818-1848*. Cincinnati, 1880, p. 71 ff. See also *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Pionier-Vereins von Philadelphia*, 1907, VI, 7-12 (C. F. Huch).

Teutonia was the product of the mind of Henry Ginal (born in 1802), a gifted, free-thinking clergyman. In 1841 he founded in Philadelphia a so-called "Beglückungsverein" out of which grew the "Gewerbeverein," a mildly communistic association whose membership soon numbered 300. Their capital stock in 1842 was \$20,000, and part of this was spent to buy 30,000 acres of uncultivated land in McKean County, Pennsylvania, to found Teutonia. Heinrich Schweizer was president of the company, Joseph Ram secretary, and Johann Lago treasurer. Rapp's colony was largely followed as a model. In 1843 the membership of the society had risen to 400, but soon thereafter the colony failed, since there was no strong leader or abiding faith to hold them together.

New Helvetia was the result of the dreams of Andreas Dietsch, a brush maker from Aarau, Switzerland. He planned a colony in America where he could carry out his scheme as portrayed in his book, *Das tausendjährige Reich*. June 2, 1844, a group under the leadership of Dietsch left Switzerland because it was difficult to gain a livelihood there, and went to Missouri. However, the location chosen for the new colony was very unfavorable, and in a short time nearly all the members that did not leave died of fever. Dietsch refused to leave the place to the last.⁷

The other colony, Germania, about which much was written in the German American newspapers of the time, seems never to have materialized. The *Volks-Tribun* of October 10, 1846, reports that only eight persons were in the colony, and these were supported by their fellow-members in New York.

These non-religious communist settlements schemes failed as did others. Their leaders were of an impractical turn of mind who did not consider the entirely new conditions of pioneer life, and then dissension arose invariably among the members. Moreover, as Löher remarks,⁸ there seemed to be something in the American atmosphere which made each one independent and selfish immediately.

⁷ *Volks-Tribun*, February 7 and 21, 1846.

⁸ Franz Löher, *Geschichte und Zustände der Deutschen in Amerika*. Cincinnati, 1847, p. 278.

THE TRANSITION TO MODERN SOCIALISM.

The most important forerunner of modern scientific Socialism who personally extended his agitation to America was Wilhelm Weitling.⁹ He represented the Communism of the working-class which was since then renamed Socialism.¹⁰ Weitling developed considerable ability as an agitator and leader.

He was born at Magdeburg in 1808, under rather adverse circumstances as an illegitimate child of the common folk. He learned the tailor's trade and from 1828 to 1835 travelled through various parts of Germany. In 1830 he was at Leipzig, to which city he had already sent some articles and satirical verse to be published in the *Tageblatt*, which, however, had printed but few of his contributions. Five years he was at Vienna, from which city he soon thereafter travelled to Paris, which was at that time the gathering place for German refugees, who had organized the Society of the Just (*Bund der Gerechten*). Outside of a short visit to Germany Weitling spent the years 1836-41 chiefly in Paris, where he became imbued with the teachings of Fourier and Baboeuf.

Between the July Revolution of 1830 and the March Revolution of 1848 many new social theories were propounded in France. Across the Rhine "Young Germany" had mustered its forces in the cause of political emancipation. The July Revolution was a failure in Germany, especially in regard to the freedom of the press. An exodus of educated leaders and laborers to Paris and Switzerland followed. In Paris the "*Bund der Geächteten*" was organized; in Switzerland, "*das junge Deutschland*." Cabet inspired with Owen-

⁹ *Wilhelm Weitling, seine Agitation und Lehre im geschichtlichen Zusammenhange dargestellt* von Emil Kaler, Hottingen-Zürich, 1887; *Norddeutsche Blätter, Eine Monatsschrift für Kritik, Literatur und Unterhaltung*. I. Band, Berlin, 1844—for a biographical sketch; *Wilhelm Weitling und sein System* (by N. N.) in *Die Zukunft, sozialistische Revue*, I. Jahrg. 1877-78, Berlin, pp. 583-594, 606-615; *Republik der Arbeiter* (New York), 1850-55, especially July 19, 1851, p. 108 ff. for an autobiographical sketch of Weitling; *A neglected Socialist, William Weitling*, in *Annals of the American Academy*, V. 5, pp. 718-739, by Fred C. Clark; Herman Schlueter, *Die Anfänge der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung in Amerika*, Stuttgart, 1907, pp. 49-128; Eight Autograph Letters of Weitling in the library of the University of Pennsylvania.

¹⁰ The words "socialism" and "socialist" were not used before 1833; cf. *International Socialist Review*, VI, p. 45; for the difference between "socialism" and "communism" in 1847 see Engel's Preface to the *Communist Manifesto*, dated May 1, 1890.

ism had returned from his exile in England and wrote his *Voyage en Icarie* (1840). In the same year appeared Proudhon's *Qu'est-ce que c'est que la propriété?* which book practically converted Marx. The German laborers in Paris were reached by Doctors Ewerbeck, Schuster, and Maurer, all university-bred men and well acquainted with the philosophy of Kant, Fichte, and Hegel.

These influences were brought to bear on Weitling who became the chief agitator of the Society of the Just. In this capacity he published his first important work, *Die Menschheit, wie sie ist und wie sie sein sollte* (1838). The book was secretly printed and distributed. At this time he also translated Lamennais' *Le livre du peuple* and wrote twelve songs for the people. In May, 1841, he established a branch of the Society of the Just at Geneva, where appeared also his *Hülferuf der deutschen Jugend*, a monthly, which was soon forced by the authorities to move to Berne, and then to Vevey, where the name was changed to *Die junge Generation*. Of the 1,000 subscribers of this paper about 400 were in Paris and 100 in London. At Vevey in 1842 was published his chief work, *Garantien der Harmonie und Freiheit*, which states his principles in a clear and systematic manner. To publish it, four laborers gave all their savings, 200 francs each. In spite of the strict censorship this book passed through several editions in Germany. *Das Evangelium der armen Sünder* appeared in 1843; it endeavored to prove that Communism was completely in harmony with the Bible's teachings.

While in Zurich Weitling met two kinds of Communists; among the educated were Julius Fröbel and Moses Hess; among the anarchistic atheistic class were Michel Bakunin and Wilhelm Marr. The latter popularized Feuerbach's philosophy among the German laborers. At this time German Communism was atheistic while French Utopian Socialism was infused with the religious spirit of Lamennais.

The Swiss authorities instituted an investigation and Weitling was subsequently imprisoned for his agitation.

About the same time (1844) Karl Marx was expelled from Cologne for expressing his thoughts too freely in the *Rheinische Zeitung*, of which he had been chief editor since 1842. Among the

contributors to this paper were Berthold Auerbach, Bruno Bauer, Julius Fröbel, Friedrich List, Robert Prutz, Dingelstedt, Hoffmann von Fallersleben, Gutzkow, and Herwegh. Of these List and Fröbel had been in the United States. Marx went to Paris where in conjunction with Ruge he published the *Deutsch-französische Jahrbücher* (1844) of which only two numbers appeared.

Weitling was released the same year and went to Hamburg, where Hoffmann and Campe published his *Kerkerpoesien*. In this publishing house, which was the rendezvous of many critics of society, he met Heine, who gives an interesting and humorous account of this meeting in his *Geständnisse*. Heine says of the Communists in general: "Die mehr oder minder geheimen Führer der deutschen Kommunisten sind grosse Logiker, von denen die stärksten aus der Hegelschen Schule hervor gegangen, und sie sind ohne Zweifel die fähigsten Köpfe und die energievollsten Charaktere Deutschlands. Diese Doktoren der Revolution und ihre mitleidslos entschlossenen Jünger sind die einzigen Männer in Deutschland, denen Leben innewohnt, und ihnen gehört die Zukunft."¹¹ Heine calls Weitling a man of considerable talent and originality.

In August, 1844, Weitling went to London, where he spoke to the Communists of many lands urging them to unite. March 30, 1846, he met Marx and Engels at a Communist meeting in Brussels. These men were driven out of Paris by the policy of Guizot. The Brussels meeting ended in complete disagreement, and a few months later Weitling received a call from a society in New York, of which Hermann Kriege was the leader, to come to that city to edit the *Volks-Tribun*, a weekly paper representing the interests of the worker. Towards the end of 1846 he arrived in New York just as the *Volks-Tribun* had discontinued publication. He was penniless but friends aided him and he published and sold a new edition of his *Evangelium*. When the Revolution of 1848 broke out the "Befreiungsbund," which was organized after the model of the Society of the Just, commissioned him to represent their cause in Germany. Dowiat, an exiled clergyman, who had been active in communistic circles in New York, accompanied him and they arrived in Paris at the end of the

¹¹ G. Karpeles, *Heines Sämtliche Werke* (Hesse) VIII, 37, 40; cf. Elster edition, VI, 45 f. and 553.

June riots. From there Weitling travelled via Frankfort and Heidelberg to Berlin, distributing broadsides and pamphlets as he went. After publishing a short-lived weekly, *Der Urwähler*, he was expelled from Berlin and subsequently from Hamburg. In the haste of his departure two trunks containing books and papers were lost. Germany at this time was not a congenial place for men with new theories of society.

In January, 1850, the Central Laborers' Union was organized at New York under Weitling's direction. One of its duties was to found and maintain a communistic colony, Communia, in Clayton County, Iowa. The *Republik der Arbeiter*, with Weitling as editor, was established as the official organ of the society. At last Weitling had escaped the strict censor and now he had a paper in which he could publish his ideas and outline his plans.

The paper was published first as a sixteen-page monthly, then as a weekly, and finally again as a monthly for about five years. The title suggests the goal towards which it aimed. The paper is surprisingly mild in tone and preaches no radical revolutionary measures. In the first number of January, 1850, Weitling has given a somewhat vague picture of his ideas concerning this new republic. The republic is to consist of nothing but laborers, craftsmen, farmers, artists, and teachers. The laborers and teachers are to hold the elective offices of the government. Everybody must work for the common good, for "Alles, was unsere Dichter, Philosophen, unsere Schöngeister und Aristokraten das Höchste nennen, Alles, was sie verehren, anpreisen und zu erreichen streben, ist nur das, was es ist und kann nur erreicht werden, *durch ein Volk, das arbeitet*, und wird um so eher erreicht, werden, wenn ein Volk sich so einrichtet, dass der Ertrag der Arbeit dem ganzen Volke, das arbeitet, zu Gute kommt und wenn es darum auch diese Einrichtungen durch Arbeiterwahlen bestimmt und regelt, so dass Jedem der volle Verdienst seiner Fähigkeit und seines Fleisses wird. * * * Jetzt wird der Begriff Arbeiter leider theils verächtlich, theils einseitig aufgefasst. Arbeiter aber sind alle, ob sie nun als Präsidenten des Staats, als Lehrer, Professoren oder Handwerker fungiren. Der Kapitalist aber ist als solcher kein Arbeiter." The paper had agencies in all the larger cities of the country and its circulation reached a few

thousand. The German American newspapers, as a whole, praised Weitling's undertaking, which also advocated an exchange bank and a workingmen's congress.

During 1850 Franz Arnold, a speaker and agitator of ability, spoke at meetings in Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Cincinnati in the interests of the paper. The number of subscribers increased but some misunderstanding arose and Arnold gave up the task. Many laborers lost interest in the movement as soon as they were comfortably located. Such articles as, for example, *Proben moderner Gefühlsbildung*, *Die Entwicklung der Gleichheitstheorien*, *Der Fortschritt der Menschheit*, *Die Antriebe zur Vereinigung*, *Philosophie des Kommunismus*, and *Die deutsche Tagespresse in Amerika*, which took up a good part of the space, doubtless, did not ordinarily appeal to the man accustomed to earn his daily bread by the sweat on his brow. Nevertheless, the paper enjoyed temporary prosperity.

At its call the first national convention of German workingmen met in Philadelphia, October 22-28, 1850. Representatives were present from St. Louis, Louisville, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, New York, Buffalo, Williamsburg, Newark, Baltimore, and Cincinnati. They represented a total membership of about 4,500. The resolutions passed related to the exchange bank, associations of laborers, the organization of a political party, education and instruction, propaganda, colonies, and the organization of the convention.¹² Some of the principles were rather impracticable, while others were somewhat ahead of the times. The congress voted a monthly edition of the *Republik der Arbeiter* of 4,800 copies.

An interesting feature of this convention of labor unions was their intention to found colonies in various parts of the Union. The only attempt was made at Communia in Clayton County, Iowa, where some Swiss communists had settled in the late forties. By December, 1850, ten colonists were living at Communia. Weitling thought that such a colony would be a haven of refuge for the newly arrived immigrant and for all those who wished to escape the corrupt industrial society of the cities. All property was to be owned in

¹² *Republik der Arbeiter* (1850), I, pp. 169-175.

common. New candidates were first put on probation for three months as regards conduct, good health, and ability to do a specified kind of work, and then after paying an entrance fee of ten dollars they might be admitted as members. After giving three months' notice any member might withdraw and have all the property he contributed returned to him, one-third upon leaving, one-third in a year, and the rest within two years. By a two-thirds vote a member might be excluded for good reasons. A committee of three chosen by popular vote for one year were to administer the business of the society; they must report every three months. The revised constitution of the "Communia Association" states that the purpose of the colony was farming, trading, and manufacturing. All work was to be performed in common.¹³

In October, 1851, the colony owned 1,240 acres of land, and the total value of their property was about \$6,500. There were eighteen male members. The colonists lived comfortably and were supplied with an abundance of game: deer, quails, prairie chickens, wild pigeons, and ducks. From July 1 to December 31, 1852, there were, on the average, 40 persons in the colony who consumed provisions worth \$486.81, i. e. a daily rate of six and two-thirds cents per person.¹⁴

In March, 1853, Heuberger, of New York, who had studied law in Germany, gave a report of the colony. He complained that the colony was not protected against the cold north wind and that the water was impure. There were two substantially built buildings, which were occupied by five Wurttembergers, four Prussians, three Badenese, one Nassovian, four Bavarians, one Hungarian, two Swiss, one Low German, and one Saxon—a total of twenty-two men. Moreover, there were eight women and sixteen children not classified as to nationality by the reporter. The forty-six colonists represented various degrees of culture. Heuberger found life on the prairie very monotonous with too much work and too little diversion; his own work in the kitchen was very irksome.

Weitling had great hopes for the success of his colony, but it

¹³ For the constitutions see *Republik der Arbeiter* for December, 1850, p. 182; and September 3, 1853, p. 282 ff.

¹⁴ *Republik der Arbeiter*, February 5, 1853.

was rather a modest beginning for the nation-wide or even world-wide republic of toilers which he thought could be inaugurated. He made at least four trips to Communia and the reports which were published in his paper give interesting pen pictures of the cities through which he passed.

In November, 1853, thirty-six men, sixteen women, and eighteen children were living in the colony. About the same time Weitling was elected "manager," but soon discord arose among the members and in a short time the colony—the humble beginning of the majestic republic of toilers—was rapidly breaking up. The lack of systematic management, the sinking of money in buying a saw mill, and a dispute over the title to the land hastened its end. At the same time the Workingmen's League (*Arbeiterbund*) which at its greatest height numbered about 2,000 members, was fast declining and soon ceased to be of much consequence.

Withdrawing from public life now, Weitling became a clerk in the Bureau of Immigration at Castle Garden. Aside from his daily duties he studied Astronomy and in a letter to his friend Schilling, July 22, 1869, he was still seeking a publisher for his Astronomy. In the subsequent labor movement he did not take part publicly. January 22, 1871, he was present at the "Verbrüderungsfest" of the German, French, and English sections of the International in New York, and three days later he died.

In his socialistic agitation Weitling sought the support of such men as Karl Heinzen and Gustave Struve, but they were too aristocratic and individualistic to join hands with a "Handwerker." February 5, 1848, Weitling, who was then at New Orleans, wrote to Heinzen at New York, asking for his support, but the latter answered: "Ein Kommunist steht mir ebenso fern wie der Kaiser von Russland. Der Kommunismus ist in meinen Augen ebenso freiheitsfeindlich, kulturwidrig, ja barbarisch wie der Despotismus der gekrönten Unmenschen, deren Partei Sie aus 'Ordnungsliebe' ergreifen."¹⁵ Heinzen was accustomed to dub the communists "Schwefelbanditen" and the latter termed him a "Communistenfresser." Heinzen believed that the "true Republicanism," as he

¹⁵ Karl Heinzen, *Erlebtes* (II. Theil), *Nach meiner Exilierung. Gesammelte Schriften*, IV. Bd., Boston, 1874, p. 139.

delineated it, offered the solution for all political and social problems.¹⁶

Weitling has characterized the situation thus: "Jeder will ein Blättchen herausgeben, jeder will einen Verein leiten, jeder eine Kasse gründen, jeder allein auf seine Faust für irgend eine Phrase Volkslehrer sein. Da mischt der Eine Decentralisation mit Socialismus, der Andere Atheismus mit Vernunft, der Dritte turnt socialistisch, der Vierte wirkt für den entschiedenen Fortschritt. Der Eine will den Geist, der Andere die Menschheit, der Dritte die Völker, der Vierte die Arbeiter, der die Sänger, ein Anderer die Schneider, die Turner, die Flüchtlinge u. s. w. in Vereine bringen. Und hundert Andere wollen dies Alles auch, aber mit einer kleinen Veränderung."¹⁷ Struve was accused of having spent his best years filling his head with the erratic teachings of science and phrenology.

The first man to spread the doctrines of Weitling among the Germans of the United States was Hermann Kriege, who at the head of his society, "Jung Amerika," had invited the former to edit the *Volks-Tribun*. Kriege, who was the founder of this periodical, had landed at New York in 1845 as a young man of twenty-five, having been born in Westphalia. He was educated at Leipzig and Berlin, where he had come under the influence of Hegelian philosophy. At the latter city he organized a socialist reading circle and also lectured to the soldiers and workingmen on Weitling's *Garantien der Harmonie und Freiheit*. One of his friends was the ill-fated Robert Blum. After a term of imprisonment he was forced to flee to Belgium, whence he went via London to New York, where he established the *Volks-Tribun* in January, 1846. In America he sought to elevate the political position of the Germans, condemned slavery, joined the Free Soil movement, and worked for the homestead laws.

His Communism was declared compromising and not representative of European Socialism in 1846, by Engels, Gigot, Heil-

¹⁶ For articles on Heinzen see *Amerikanischer Turner-Kalender*, 1881, p. 59 ff. (J. Lucas); 1882, p. 71 ff. (C. H. Boppe); and *Heinzen-Gedenkbuch. Zur Erinnerung an Karl Heinzen und an die Enthüllungsfeier des Heinzen-denkmals am 12. Juni herausgegeben*. Boston; *Deut-Am. Geschichtsblätter*, Chicago, 1915 (Schinnerer).

¹⁷ *Republik der Arbeiter*, 1850, p. 180 ff.

berg, Marx, Seiler, von Westphalen, and Wolf, who were then in Brussels. Kriege considered them academic Socialists who were not interested in the practical application of their theories.¹⁸

In 1848 Kriege returned to Germany and agitated Socialism, but after attending the workingmen's convention at Berlin he became disillusioned and wrote to a friend: "Das Proletariat, für das wir geschwärmt, lebt nicht." After his return to America the next year he became thoroughly disheartened with Communism and declared himself outright for "democracy." After going from place to place intending to follow a literary career, he finally succeeded Arno Voss as editor of the *Illinois Staatszeitung*, which now became a tri-weekly. His mind had for some time been on the verge of becoming unbalanced. He resigned his position and went to New York, where he died December 31, 1850. Kriege was too idealistic and temperamental to succeed in organizing the people for action.

Another contemporary of Weitling, who spread socialistic and revolutionary ideas in New York, was Dr. Edmund Ignatz Koch. He distributed about a thousand copies of Blanqui's revolutionary writings. Other members of the Society of the Just who were parties in the celebrated Communist trial at Cologne in 1851, and who subsequently came to America, were Dr. Abraham Jacobi, a physician in New York, August Willich, who gained fame in the Civil War, Dr. Everbeck, and August Becker; however these men were not very active in making propaganda. Many of the political rights for which they fought in Germany were in practice in the United States and so their ardor cooled.

Even before this time Heinrich Koch, the "Antipfaff," of St. Louis, was exercising all his powers to reform the church, state, and society. Koch was born at Baireuth in 1800, learned the watch-maker's trade, and followed it until his radical ideas on politics landed him in prison. He was among those present at the celebrated Hambacher Fest, May 27, 1832. After his arrest and release he sailed for America, where he arrived at Baltimore the same year. Later at St. Louis he entered politics, advocating the Democratic cause, but having become imbued with the ideas of Fourier, Brisbane,

¹⁸ *Volks-Tribun*, June 27, 1846.

and R. D. Owen, he became a communist newspaper editor and founded first the *Antipfaff*, later called the *Vorwaerts*, and then a radical political paper, *Die Reform*. Thus, says Anton Eickhoff,¹⁹ he fought on three fronts, using both prose and poetry as his weapons; besides he was a brilliant, popular orator.

During the forties the labor movement spread over the whole United States, but was confined almost exclusively to German "Handwerker." In St. Louis the Germans were divided into two camps, the workingmen and the somewhat aristocratically inclined "Lateiner," however Koch was at first on a friendly footing with both and many of his poems appeared in the *Anzeiger des Westens*, the organ of the latter. Koch was the first to advocate Communism in St. Louis and as early as 1846 he founded a Communist Society which he as their captain led to the front when the Mexican War broke out. He helped equip the company at his own cost, even mortgaging his house in so doing. After the war he took up his trade again as watchmaker and editor, but soon abruptly changed his course, sold all his property, and with his family and a few faithful followers established a communist colony on the prairies of Iowa. In a very short time his project proved a dismal failure; it cured him of his radical notions and made him more tolerant towards the ideas of others. Now at the age of fifty he made a serious attempt to conform to social convention, and started to learn English more thoroughly. Since then he plied his trade at Dubuque, Iowa, and continued to write poems and articles for German American newspapers. His death occurred in 1879.

Koch's activities in St. Louis introduced Weitling's ideas. Meetings were held, societies were organized, and propaganda was made. Attempts were made to Americanize the movement, so that it might not be confined to the Germans. Calls were made upon the Eastern branches to print pamphlets and extracts from the *Republik der Arbeiter* in English.²⁰

On many days of 1849 from one hundred to five hundred German immigrants arrived in St. Louis.²¹ The floods, an epidemic

¹⁹ *Der Deutsche Pionier*, XII, pp. 211-215.

²⁰ *Republik der Arbeiter*, 1850, p. 141.

²¹ *Der Deutsche Pionier*, V, p. 101f.

of cholera, and destructive fires caused much suffering among the immigrants. About 25,000 Germans were living in the city at this time, of these quite a number were political refugees. These refugees, as a rule, cherished grievances against the tyrannical authorities of Germany, but did not generally advocate Communism, nevertheless all found many things even in democratic America which needed reforming or had to be abolished.

By 1854 the German laborers had some form of organization in all the larger cities, especially in New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, St. Louis, Cincinnati, and Louisville. These organizations were, in general, based on Weitling's theories. They met with considerable opposition since they were foreign, and also the conservative German element decried the spread of Communism. It was also the period when the forty-eighters, who were not, as a rule, inclined to associate with the "Handwerker," were still arriving in large numbers.

Friedrich Hassaurek, speaking of the second period of the political immigration of the forty-eighters, remarked: "Sowie vorher die Revolutions-Vereine, so bildeten sich jetzt eine Menge von politischen, religiösen oder vielmehr anti-religiösen, socialistischen und kommunistischen Reform— und Fortschritts-Vereinen, die eine ganz merkwürdige Thätigkeit entwickelten.

"Es kamen die Frei-Männer-Vereine und Freien Gemeinden, die es hauptsächlich auf religiöse Aufklärungs-Propaganda abgesehen hatten, dabei aber auch andere Gegenstände in den Kreis ihrer Besprechungen zogen.

"Es entstanden eine Menge socialistischer und kommunistischer Vereine und zahlreiche Arbeiter-Organisationen, die ihre Theorien sogleich praktisch in's Werk setzen wollten. Der Franzose Cabet gründete die Colonie Ikarien in Illinois, und der deutsche Schneider Weitling die Colonie Communia in Iowa, die natürlich bald zu Grunde gingen."²²

²² From an address delivered at Cincinnati, May 25, 1875, at the seventh anniversary of the founding of the German Pionier-Verein, in *Der Deutsche Pionier*, VII, pp. 112-125.

MODERN GERMAN SOCIALISM IN AMERICA.

Probably the first of the forty-eighters to spread the doctrines of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels as expounded in the *Communist Manifesto* (1848) was Joseph Weydemeyer (1818-1866),²³ a Prussian military officer, who consecrated himself to aid the laborer. Later he became a radical Communist and a newspaper editor. He was expelled from Germany for radical utterances in his paper, so he emigrated to America, landing at New York, November 7, 1851. Slavery, protective tariff, free soil, and the anti-rent troubles in New York were the political questions of the day. Weitling was thoroughly stirring up the German laborers of New York. In the spring of 1852 Weydemeyer published a monthly, *Die Revolution*, of which but two numbers appeared. In the second of these was published Marx' *Der achtzehnte Brumaire des Louis Bonaparte*.²⁴ For advocating these new things Weydemeyer was attacked in the German American newspapers by some of the older class of Communists, but he in conjunction with Dr. Jacobi and A. Cluss published a rejoinder in the New York *Criminalzeitung* of November 7, 1853. Hermann Meyer, a German merchant, was also a faithful co-worker of Weydemeyer, who gathered about himself a "Proletarierbund" and who took part in founding an "Amerikanischer Arbeiterbund" in Mechanics' Hall, New York, March 20, 1853.

The movement was supported by a few faithful followers in Boston, in Newark, and those in New York. Weitling did not agree with these exponents of Marxism, and Weydemeyer called the former's paper an antique sheet, of interest only to research students and antiquarians. The movement never attained large proportions, and in 1856 Weydemeyer went to Milwaukee, where he became a surveyor and journalist.²⁵

²³ *Joseph Weydemeyer und sein Anteil an der deutschen Bewegung der 40er Jahre und an der amerikanischen Bewegung der 50er Jahre*, in *Pionier* (New York *Volks-Zeitung Kalender*) 1897, p. 54 ff. by F. A. Sorge.

²⁴ Weydemeyer was a personal friend of Karl Marx.

²⁵ During the winter of 1859-60 Weydemeyer and a certain Left published a Chicago paper for a short time, after that the former contributed to the *Illinois Staatszeitung*. The latter year he returned to New York and directed the surveying of Central Park. In the spring of 1861 he superintended the construction of ten forts around St. Louis under Fremont. After serving throughout the war he became a contributor to the St. Louis *Westliche Post*. Later he and Hilgard published a weekly, *Die Neue Zeit*. In 1865 he became auditor of St. Louis. He died August 20, 1866.

Some of the refugees of the Revolution of 1848 founded the Communist Club in New York, which held its first meeting October 25, 1857. Its purpose was to exercise absolute free thought in religious matters and to disseminate socialistic doctrines. They recognized no creed, no privileged class, no distinction of color, and broke with tradition generally. The members were not laborers but educated liberals influenced by Marx. It corresponded with Marx in London, Weydemeyer in Milwaukee, J. P. Becker in Geneva, the journalist, Otto Reventlow, in Cincinnati, and with the Icarians through the musician Albrecht in Philadelphia.²⁶ The club attracted some attention when in 1858 it held a celebration attended by several thousand people of various nationalities in memory of the June riots of 1848 in Paris. One prominent man who took part in founding the club was F. A. Sorge²⁷ (1828-1906), a fugitive of the Badenese Revolution, who arrived in the United States in 1852. Before this in Geneva he had come in contact with Moses Hess, Wilhelm Liebknecht, Dronke, J. P. Becker, Fritz Kamm, Fritz Jacoby, and others. From his father, who was a clergyman, he inherited rationalistic tendencies, and he remained primarily a Freethinker even for a time after joining the Communist Club. Later he became the most active representative of Marxian Socialism in America. From 1869-1876 he was the chief leader of the German American laborers. After meeting Marx and Engels at The Hague in 1872 he was more enthusiastic than ever in spreading the doctrines of scientific Socialism.

From 1861 to 1867 the Communist Club held no meetings, for the Civil War had absorbed all their attention. A large number died to save the Union. The club was reorganized March 8, 1867, when Conrad Carl moved that it unite with the German general labor union (allgemeiner Deutscher Arbeiter Verein), which motion was carried several months later. This led to the founding of the Socialist Party for New York and vicinity toward the close of 1867, under the leadership of C. Carl, C. Eilenberg, A. Kamp, F. Krahlinger, and

²⁶ Cf. *Pionier Kalender* (N. Y. *Volks-Zeitung*), 1906, pp. 55-68, (Hermann Schlueter).

²⁷ *Die Neue Zeit* (Stuttgart), XXV, pp. 145-147; *Pionier Kalender*, 1908 (Schlueter).

E. A. Petersen. This party consisted chiefly of Germans; it was only short-lived and did not succeed politically;²⁸ nevertheless it has the distinction of being the first political party in America with modern socialistic views.

Not only the educated class, but also German "Handwerker," brought in the ideas of Marx and Lassalle after the Civil War. In 1865 a small labor society of fourteen members was organized on the principles of Lassalle. They discussed such works as Lassalle's speeches and the *Communist Manifesto*, and also celebrated all sorts of commemoration days in order of prominent leaders as Blum and Lassalle. In Chicago, during 1865, some followers of Lassalle joined a labor society which dated from the fifties. This society was represented at the convention of radical Germans at Cleveland in 1863. Some devoted followers of Marx established the "Deutscher Bildungsverein" at New York, which resulted in the first real association of American and European laborers in April, 1866, when it joined the I. A. A. (Internationale Arbeiter-Assoziation). These were some of the earlier attempts to organize the Germans with socialistic ideas in America.

Since the sixties definite endeavors were made to crystallize the socialistic sentiment in America, which effort later resulted in the formation of a political party. At first this movement stood largely under the influence of the I. A. A. organized by Karl Marx at London in 1864. London at that time was the gathering place of the refugee Communists of many lands. Two other noted exiles there were Engels and Mazzini. The I. A. A. extended its influence to America when in 1867, at New York, a German branch was organized under the leadership of F. A. Sorge. This section planned to organize similar branches in all the cities of the Union. Reiter and Cohnheim, two forty-eighters, were instrumental in organizing a branch at San Francisco as early as 1868. The number of sections grew to thirty or more after 1871, and these were originally composed chiefly of Germans. The chief centers were New York, San Francisco, Chicago, New Orleans, and Newark. The most zealous and influential man in the movement was F. A. Sorge, the friend and co-worker of Marx and Engels.

²⁸ Waltershausen, *Der Moderne Sozialismus*, p. 38 ff.

In the meanwhile the Americans had organized the N. L. U. (National Labor Union). At its first convention at Baltimore in 1866 E. Schlegel, a Lassallian and representative of the German Workingmen's Association of Chicago, acquainted the English-speaking contingent with German Socialism. The union from now on became gradually permeated with Socialism. At the third convention held at New York in 1868 the Labor Reform Party, under the guidance of W. H. Sylvis, was organized. Socialism was taking root in American soil, and the N. L. U. and the I. A. A. were gradually approaching each other in their principles. At the fifth convention held at Cincinnati in 1870 the N. L. U. declared in favor of the I. A. A. and expected to join it soon. F. A. Sorge was instrumental in bringing about the union, but already in 1870 the N. L. U. practically dissolved into a political and a trade union faction. With this ended the first or diplomatic phase of the I. A. A. in America.²⁹

When the Franco-Prussian War of 1870 broke out the German American sympathizers of the I. A. A. in New York, Chicago, and St. Louis protested vigorously against the bloodshed, but the spirit of nationalism prevailed. Among those protesting were the newspaper, the *Arbeiter-Union*, "der Allgemeine deutsche Arbeiterverein," the "Bund der Freidenker" of New York, and the German Socialists of Chicago.

During the year the cause of Socialism was at a low ebb. There were but a few hundred Socialists in New York City. But the next year the I. A. A. increased from six to twenty-four sections and the number of members reached the maximum of about 5,000, most of whom were Germans. A few of the members were educated Americans whose socialistic ideas harked back to the Fourierism of the forties. January 27, 1871, the various sections of New York held a "Verbrüderungsfest" at which Weitling made his last public appearance.

July 6, 1872, the first convention of the I. A. A. in America was held; twenty-two sections were represented. The newly elected "federated council" was composed of three Germans, two Frenchmen, two Irishmen, one Swede, and one Italian, with no native

²⁹ John R. Commons in *Archiv für die Geschichte des Sozialismus und der Arbeiterbewegung*, etc., Leipzig, 1911-1914.

American on the list. During this year the general headquarters of the I. A. A. were transferred to New York, and F. A. Sorge became general secretary. Sorge resigned in August, 1874, when the old I. A. A. practically ended as the result of dissension.

In the summer of 1874 one faction organized the Social Democratic Labor Party of North America, whose platform was a compromise between the realistic views of the American laborers and the idealistic views of the German agitators. The union of the German Social Democrats at Gotha in 1875 made the American factions desirous to unite, and at their first annual convention at Philadelphia it was decided to pacify the quarreling members and bring about harmony. The next year, 1876, the various factions united at Philadelphia to found the Workingmen's Party of the United States. The delegates were Sorge from Hoboken, Weydemeyer from Pittsburgh, Conzett from Chicago, Braun from Philadelphia, Strasser from New York, Gabriel from Newark, and McGuire from New Haven.⁸⁰ They represented about 3,000 members of different organizations. At the second convention of the party, December 25-31, 1877, at Newark, New Jersey, the name Socialist Labor Party of North America was adopted. The party remained essentially in the hands of Germans and never won a large following, although it made earnest efforts to gain adherents among English-speaking workers. A large faction objected to a fusion with the trade unions, fearing that thereby they would have to sacrifice some of their socialistic principles. By 1899 the party had only 4,500-5,000 paying members, of whom one-fourth lived in New York.⁸¹

Socialism received a new impetus through the hard times of 1877-78, and the strikes that accompanied them. It was estimated that 2,000,000 people were out of work in the United States; of these 50,000 were in New York City alone. This state of affairs furnished a fertile soil for propaganda, and violence often resulted in the industrial districts. The public generally associated this lawlessness with political Socialism; it failed to distinguish clearly between the violence of the Paris Commune and Marx' criticism of

⁸⁰ Waltershausen, *Der Moderne Sozialismus*, p. 107 ff.

⁸¹ *Die Neue Zeit*, XVIII, 1: 111-118 (Dietzgen).

capital. Socialism made gains in Chicago, St. Louis, Milwaukee, Louisville, New York, Philadelphia, and San Francisco.

Since the suppression of the Paris Commune in 1871 and especially since the passage of the anti-Socialist laws of 1878, following the attempted assassination of Emperor William the First, a large number of German Socialists came to America.³² Most of them were laborers and craftsmen; some were journalists; and a few had been members of the Reichstag. Some of the moving spirits coming over at that time were F. Leib, Paul Grottkau, Gustav Lyser, and Heinrich von Ende, who were all active in making propaganda. The year 1879 showed a marked increase in the number of German immigrants.

An interesting publication relating to the effects of the anti-Socialist law of 1878 is *Nach Zehn Jahren, Material und Glossen zur Geschichte des Sozialistengesetzes. I. Historisches*, 1889. *II. Die Opfer des Sozialistengesetzes*, 1890. London. The facts were obtained through a questionnaire sent out by a committee of the fugitives in New York. It contains among other things a list of names of persons driven from Germany, and a list of books, periodicals, and other printed matter excluded from Germany during the years 1878-88.³³

Serious attempts were made to crystallize and Americanize this exotic socialistic thought. So well did they succeed that an article appeared in the *North American Review*³⁴ in 1879, which proposed to show "how far this element of German Socialism has already fixed its fangs in the most susceptible portion of our people, and threatens, with a larger increase of representatives and loquacious agitators, to diffuse its poison into all classes sufficiently indigent and sufficiently ignorant to join the great caravan of the discontented."³⁵ The author proceeds to show how well organized the movement was and how threatening it loomed up. "No one could

³² Cf. Eduard Bernstein, *Die Geschichte der Berliner Arbeiter Bewegung*. 3 Bde., Berlin, 1907. See II: 338 ff. for a reprint of the "Ausnahmegesetz"; cf. also Josephy.

³³ Cf. also *Zwölf Jahre Sozialistengesetzes. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Sozialistengesetzes und der sozialdemokratischen Bewegung in Deutschland*. Berlin, 1890.

³⁴ Vol. 128, pp. 371-387 and 481-492.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 375.

have been more surprised at the discovery of so perfect an organization, the fanatic earnestness of its followers, and the strength of its numbers."⁸⁶ The writer accuses Bismarck of secretly encouraging the emigration of Socialists to America and of paying their expenses in addition. He concludes (page 492): "The powerful and growing organization which now honeycombs the country must be laid low before we have forgotten the smouldering fires of Pittsburgh and the insurrection which extended through fourteen states of the Union."⁸⁷

The writer exaggerated the situation, but there is little doubt that the Socialists did carry on a vigorous propaganda. Adolf Douai in the *Jahrbuch für Soziale Wissenschaft* (1879) reported that the whole press of the country which two years ago took no note of Socialism was then filled with articles decrying the spread of it. To the press and the general public Socialism meant robbery, arson, and other disturbances. Native Americans stood aghast and so few joined the movement that Lawrence Gronlund is reported to have said that in 1880 he could count all the native American Socialists on the fingers of one hand.

In 1881 the German Social Democrats sent Louis Viereck and F. W. Fritzsche, two Socialist deputies in the Reichstag, to America to acquaint the German Americans with the plight of their party under the severe anti-Socialist laws. They arrived at New York in February and were welcomed by large numbers at mass meetings in New York, Newark, Philadelphia, Milwaukee, Chicago, and other cities. Several thousand dollars were collected for their cause. This lecture tour aroused interest anew in Socialism but the interest soon subsided. Soon after his return to Germany Fritzsche again returned, this time with J. Vahlteich, another Socialist deputy, and the former retired to private life in Philadelphia. The Socialist press accused him of being a slacker and even a turncoat.

During the eighties anarchism and revolutionary socialism threatened to disrupt the Socialist Labor Party; the former predominated in New York and the latter in Chicago. Until the fall of

⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 387.

⁸⁷ Cf. William Haller, *Reply to an Article in the North American Review for April and May, 1879*. Cincinnati, 1879.

1882 the Socialists under Paul Grottkau maintained the leadership. Then John Most, who had just served a sixteen months' sentence at hard labor in London for an article in his *Freiheit* congratulating the Nihilists upon the assassination of Alexander the Second, came to America. Most had early imbibed socialistic doctrines and become a most ardent and fearless defender of them, so much so, that he was thrown into prison successively in Austria, Saxony, Prussia, and England. He now started on a lecture tour of the United States, throwing out his fire-brands. As a result of his agitation from 1882-83 over a score of revolutionary clubs sprang up and flourished. A convention of anarchists and revolutionary Socialists from twenty-six states met at Pittsburgh in October, 1883, to discuss ways and means of agitation. Most of the representatives were laborers of German extraction. Spies and Most, of New York, were the most prominent speakers. The International Working People's Association was organized and various radical doctrines were promulgated.

John Most as a journeyman bookbinder had early become acquainted with Socialism and he carried on a vigorous campaign in its behalf in Austria, and Germany. In the meantime, under the influence of Reinsdorf and Dave, he became a practical anarchist. Upon his arrival at New York, December 18, 1882, he delivered a lecture in Cooper Institute, preaching the coming revolution. On his subsequent lecture tours he received considerable notice from the American press which, however, almost invariably subjected him to scathing ridicule. At Cleveland a German sent him a rope with the legend:

"Ferschtekiller Johann, was willst Du im freisten der Länder?

Nimm Dynamit oder häng' selbst um den Hals Dir den Strick."

For a few years Most preached his radical doctrines to his heart's content, but finally he also came into conflict with the American authorities. After the execution of the Chicago Anarchists his agitation had almost spent its force. The ardor of the indefatigable Most was cooling, for in *Zwischen Galgen und Zuchthaus* he confesses: "In Amerika gleichen wir den Rufern in der Wüste deren Stimme ungehört verhallt. Der Socialismus hier ist deutsch and der Anarchismus ein Veilchen, das im Verborgenen blüht," and continuing

further on, "Weshalb ich all dies sage? Weil ich es überdrüssig bin, mich selbst und andere in Illusionen zu wiegen."⁸⁸

Anarchism had made serious breaks in the Socialist ranks who were at that time none too well united. The radical element increased and native Americans condemned Anarchists and Socialists alike, but the labor unions were gradually adopting socialistic principles. Efforts were made to unite the different factions before the advent of the Baltimore convention, December 26-28, 1883, but only the delegates of the Socialist Labor Party appeared, and they denounced Most and his party. At the Cincinnati convention two years later the party reiterated the right of citizens to bear arms, but they did not advocate the propaganda of the deed. On account of the Haymarket tragedy of 1886 Anarchism was finally discredited and the summary and sweeping punishment that followed gave it a setback from which it has not been able to recover. It lingered on for a time, but even the few faithful ones quarreled among themselves and were unsparing in denouncing each other.

In the fall of 1886 Socialism received a new stimulus through the arrival of Dr. Aveling and his wife Eleonore Marx-Aveling, the daughter of Karl Marx. They lectured at various places under the auspices of the Socialist Labor Party, and sowed the seeds of the doctrine among the English-speaking laborers. They published their book, *The Labor Movement in America*, at London in 1888. About the same time Wilhelm Liebknecht spoke to the German American workmen on the merits of Socialism. He was severely attacked by the *Freiheit* of New York, but its influence was waning. He published *Ein Blick in die neue Welt* at Stuttgart in 1887.

As a political party the Socialists were not united; one faction was opposed to the participation in politics while the other advocated alliance with the labor unions to increase their voting strength. This disagreement between the factions continued and the membership of the party dwindled. In the meanwhile organized labor had gained enormously and socialistic principles gradually crept into their platforms. Many of the former were recent immigrants who

⁸⁸ For Most see Waltershausen, Chap. VIII; *Acht Jahre hinter Schloss und Riegel. Skizzen aus dem Leben John Mosts von Anonymous Veritas*, New York, 1886; John Most, *Memoiren, Erlebtes, Erforschtes und Erdachtes*, New York, 1903-05; and other writings of Most.

were not very familiar with the conditions. As late as 1894 it was still difficult for the Socialist Labor convention to transact its business in English, since most of the delegates were Germans and did not speak English very fluently.³⁹ Prominent leaders as Victor L. Berger saw the need of Americanizing the movement. He did much to reconcile the various factions and to make them effective at the polls. Berger, who is of German parentage, was born in Austria in 1860, and has the distinction of being the first Socialist to be elected to the Congress of the United States. July 29, 1901, a convention of Socialist delegates representing thirty states and territories, the largest convention to date, met at Indianapolis to bring about harmony. Here all except the more irreconcilable faction of the Socialist Labor Party united in the Socialist Party. This party has grown rapidly since then, while the Socialist Labor Party has gradually lost political prestige. Hillquit states that according to a recent census seventy-one per cent. of the members of the Socialist Party are native citizens of the United States.⁴⁰

³⁹ St. Louis *Arbeiter Zeitung*, August 10, 1901.

⁴⁰ Morris Hillquit, *Socialism Summed Up*, New York, 1912, p. 107.

CHAPTER II.

SOCIALISM AND THE GERMAN AMERICAN PRESS.

With the coming of the political refugees of the third and fourth decades of the nineteenth century German American journalism received a new stimulus and attained a higher grade of excellence. The press now became the vehicle for the thoughts and sentiments of these impetuous and energetic fugitives who were bubbling over with rage at the arbitrary censorship placed on German journalism. Almost all the German American papers of this period, excepting religious publications, became more or less revolutionary and progressive and tinged with communistic and socialistic ideas. The press was the literary life of these off-shoots of Young Germany.

The political tendency of many newspapers established during the thirties is indicated by their titles as, for instance, the *Freiheitsfreund*, established at Chambersburg in 1834, and edited by Victor Scriba; since 1836 it was published at Pittsburgh. The *Weltbürger* was founded at Cincinnati in 1834, and another with the same title at Buffalo three years later. Among the best known editors is Ludwig A. Wollenweber, whose maternal grandfather had fought against the British at Yorktown. Wollenweber associated with the extreme Liberals in Germany, among them being Wirth, Siebenpfeiffer, Rotteck, Welker, Harro Harring, Fein, Baer, Schüler, and Savoy. However, before he could have the pleasure of attending the "Hambacher Fest"⁴¹ in May, 1832, he was compelled to flee to America, for having transgressed the edict of the German censor. He came by way of New York to Philadelphia, where he contributed to Wesselhoeft's *Alte und Neue Welt*, and later on August 28, 1837, he established *Der Freisinnige*, the second attempt at a German American daily. Some of the other men connected with this short-lived paper were Wilhelm Beschke, Stephan Molitor, and Major von

⁴¹ See *Memoirs of Gustave Koerner*, 1809-1896, (Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1909), I, pp. 187-195, for an account of it.

Fehrenthal.* The next year Wollenweber became editor of the newly established Philadelphia *Demokrat*.⁴²

Buffalo, likewise, had a *Demokrat*, and St. Louis a *Tribüne* in 1838. The Democrats of Cincinnati began to publish the *Volksblatt* in 1836, and elected Heinrich Rödter, an acquaintance of Dr. Wirth and Siebenpfeiffer—all of whom took a prominent part in the Hambacher Fest—to the editorship. The New York *Herold* established in February, 1836, was edited by Zerlaut, an exile from Baden, who stood for radical views in politics. Försch, a rationalistic preacher, founded the *Vernunftgläubiger* in 1838, and Samuel Ludvigh began publishing his *Wahrheitssucher* the next year; both appeared in New York. Most of the names of the newspapers established during the two decades beginning about 1832 had their counterpart among the German papers of the time.⁴³ In general, the editors reflected views rooted in European conditions of the time.

In the majority of papers of this period the liberal tendency in politics and religion is dominant. Heinrich Koch began publishing his *Antipfaff* at St. Louis, April 18, 1842, which since May 10, 1845, was called the *Vorwärts*. It discontinued publication the next year, but January 2, 1847, Koch came out with *Der Reformer*, a radical progressive weekly, the organ of the Communist Club. However on account of Koch's antagonism towards old well established institutions and his domineering attitude towards the society, the paper soon had to discontinue publication and the society lost members.⁴⁴ Another early St. Louis periodical exhibiting radical tendencies in social and religious matters was *Der Freisinnige*, a weekly, first appearing November 24, 1846; its publisher was L. F. Volland, and its editor G. Scho. It was but short-lived. Among the active Communists in St. Louis at this time were August Marle, Joseph Heise, and Dayler; of these the two former contributed to Kriege's *Volks-Tribun*.

In 1849 two talented journalists, Karl L. Bernays and Heinrich

* For Wollenweber see *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Pionier-Vereins von Philadelphia*, Hefte: XIII, 1-32; XIV, 1-28; XV, 1-28, containing autobiographical material with comment by C. F. Huch.

⁴³ Cf. Ludwig Salomon, *Geschichte des Deutschen Zeitungswesens*. 3 Bde. Oldenburg and Leipzig, 1906.

⁴⁴ *Der Deutsche Pionier*, IV, p. 4 (1872).

Börnstein, who had been associated with noted Communists on the staff of the *Vorwärts* at Paris, arrived at St. Louis. Bernays was editor of the *Mannheimer Abendzeitung* in 1840, but his articles were too radical for the authorities and he fled to Paris where Börnstein, the founder and editor of the *Vorwärts* (1845), met him. Bernays became the responsible editor of the *Vorwärts*.⁴⁵ Of this newspaper venture Börnstein later wrote: "Bald trat Bernays mit mir in die Redaktion des *Vorwärts*, seine Freunde Arnold Ruge, Karl Marx, Engels, Weber, Bürgers, Bakunin folgten seinem Beispiele und es bildete sich durch ihre und die thätige Mitwirkung von Heine und Herwegh ein Kreis von Mitarbeitern am *Vorwärts* heraus, wie ihn damals gewiss kein zweites Blatt aufzuweisen hatte."⁴⁶

Subsequently Börnstein was editor of the *Anzeiger des Westens* for many years, however his radical views were tempered in the New World. He was connected with the German theater at St. Louis, and translated and adapted many plays. He wrote a novel, *Die Geheimnisse von Saint Louis*, in 1851, and his memoirs appeared in 1881. In 1865 he returned to Europe where he wrote articles for American papers. His death occurred at Vienna in 1892.⁴⁷

The first socialistic German newspaper of New York was Victor Wilhelm Fröhlich's *Die Zeit*, a weekly, dating from 1844. The New York *Schnellpost*, established in 1843, by Wilhelm Eichthal, published much correspondence from Europe which propagated Communism.⁴⁸ The *Volks-Tribun, Organ der deutschen Socialreform-Association*, edited by Hermann Kriege and published from January 5 to December 31, 1846, was the first German labor paper in New York. It was called a continuation of Baboeuf's *Tribun du*

⁴⁵ Ibid., V, p. 182. An article by Fr. Schnake.

⁴⁶ Börnstein in *Der Westen* (Sunday edition of the *Illinois Staatszeitung*), August 3, 1879. Reprinted in *Der Deutsche Pionier*, XI, p. 458 ff.

⁴⁷ Brümmer, *Dichterlexikon*.

⁴⁸ After Eichthal's death in February, 1848, Karl Heinzen became editor. Now the paper became unpopular and lost subscribers. It finally suspended publication September 1, 1851; the New York *Deutsche Zeitung* followed as a continuation of it, which paper in turn stopped publication in a few months. Heinzen also published a "Probenummer" of the weekly *Völkerbund*, and then the *Janus* in the early part of 1852. In the latter part of 1853 he edited the *Herold des Westens*, of Louisville, and with 1854 began his famous *Pionier* (Louisville, Cincinnati, New York, Boston—1854 to 1879). Heinzen opposed Communism, slavery, and priestcraft, and championed woman's rights, republicanism, and radical free thought.

peuple by Kriege. On the title page was a warning vignette of the Neapolitan Masaniello, "der grosse Fischer, der für Eine zertretene Unschuld ein ganzes Reich in Flammen setzte," and beside it the motto: *Halt! Die Arbeit hoch! Nieder mit dem Kapital!* March 7, 1846, the sub-title was changed to *Organ des Jungen Amerika*.⁴⁹ After July fourth the vignette and motto no longer appeared. As to the policy of the paper Kriege says:

"Also *Tribun des Volkes* soll unser Blatt sein, d. h. der Armen, der Gequälten, der Zertretenen, die reichen Unterdrücker werden keinen sonderlichen Geschmack daran finden. Ebenso wenig die Pfaffen; die Advokaten, die Ämterjäger aller Art, für sie enthält es keinen Buchstaben, sie brauchen's gar nicht anzusehen.

"Dem Kapitalisten mag es gleich das Motto sagen, wie wir's mit ihm meinen. * * *

"Annoncen für Geld finden in unserm Blatte keinen Platz, es ist nicht auf den Geldverdienst berechnet."⁵⁰

A notice in its columns indicated its attitude towards labor and capital: "Einzelne Blätter werden an Arbeiter zu vier cents ausgegeben. Kapitalisten müssen den ganzen Jahrgang pränumerieren."

The *Tribun* was an ardent exponent of the Free Soil movement. It opposed colonization schemes and advocated political action of the laborers. The Free Soil movement was also supported by the *New Yorker Staatszeitung*, *Buffalo Telegraph*, *Philadelphia Demokrat*, *Hochwächter* of Cincinnati, *Chicago Volksfreund*, and the *Wisconsin Banner*.

The Communists of Philadelphia were, likewise, organizing and spreading their principles in the forties. Some of the more prominent ones who had formerly been associated with the Society of the Just in Europe were Benzon, Kroner, Porter, Ruelius, Bauer, Mundt, and George Dietz, editor of the *Adoptivbürger*, a labor paper, published in that city. Before this time Dietz had published the *Pittsburger Beobachter*. The *Adoptivbürger* was practically discontinued in January, 1846, although a few numbers appeared later.

Frederick W. Thomas⁵¹ (1808-1877), who came to America in 1837, founded the *Freie Presse* of Philadelphia, May 27, 1848.

⁴⁹ For the principles of *Jung Amerika* see *Volks-Tribun*, January 31, 1846.

⁵⁰ *Volks-Tribun*, January 5, 1846.

⁵¹ For short biography see *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Pionier-Vereins von Philadelphia*, 1907, V, 21 ff.

Weitling in March, 1850, called its editor, Wm. Rosenthal, a faithful co-worker. It was originally a labor paper, but since 1856 it became a Republican organ.⁵² The *Beobachter am Ohio* (Louisville) established March 16, 1844, by Heinrich Beutel, endorsed the purposes of Weitling's *Republik der Arbeiter* upon its appearance in 1850. The Cincinnati *Hochwächter* dating from about 1845 and published by Johann G. Walker, disseminated liberal ideas in politics and religion. It stopped publication in 1851, but was revived by Friedrich Hassaureck.

Dr. Samuel Ludvigh (1801-1869), a native of Styria, wrote a book against Metternich in 1833, and consequently had to start on his travels. Four years later he arrived at Philadelphia, where he edited the *Alte und Neue Welt* a few months. In 1839 he was publishing the *Wahreitssucher* at New York, but in the next year he established the *Wahrheitsverbreiter* at Baltimore. Here also arose his *Fackel*, a progressive quarterly, which was published successively at Baltimore, Boston, New Orleans, St. Louis, Charleston, St. Paul, and since 1865, at Cincinnati, where it expired with Ludvigh four years later. Ludvigh seems not to have associated much with the Communists, but was chiefly concerned in spreading his rationalistic views.

The German American newspapers of the forties were, for the most part, edited by political refugees from Europe, which was not a congenial place for journalists with liberal views at that time. In America they found almost unlimited freedom of the press of which opportunity they took due advantage. Accordingly the language used in the papers was frequently rather strong and certainly not elegant. One journalist who had high ideals respecting the press in a nation was George F. Seidensticker, who, upon becoming the editor of the Philadelphia *Demokrat* in the fall of 1846, addressed his readers in the following fashion:

"Es verkennt jetzt wohl kein Mensch mehr, dass die Zeitungs-
presse in allen civilisirten Ländern, vorzüglich aber in den Vereinig-
ten Staaten, worin wir das Glück haben zu leben, einen solchen Ein-
fluss besitzt, dass man sie füglich eine *Macht* nennen kann. Aber
sie ist *nur dann* eine Macht, wenn sie in der That dem lautern Geiste

⁵² *Der Deutsche Pionier*, IX, p. 282 f.

und Willen des Volkes Worte verleiht, wenn sie der getreue Ausdruck der öffentlichen Meinung, der Herold der Volkssouveranität ist. Hieraus ergibt sich von selbst die hohe Pflicht und Verantwortlichkeit der Zeitungsschreiber. Sind diese sich ihrer Stellung irgend bewusst, so müssen sie erkennen, das zunächst eine *anständige würdevolle Sprache* ihre erste, unerlässliche Pflicht ist. Wenn Könige sich Majestäten, Hoheiten u. s. w. nennen, so hat ein grosses Volk, wie das der Vereinigten Staaten, noch mehr recht dazu; denn dieses hat seine Macht und Hoheit in und durch sich selbst, während Jene die ihrige nur vom Volke entlehnen.—Was ist ein König ohne Volk?!—Wenn also Zeitungen, welche im In- und Auslande gewissermassen den Geist und Willen des Volkes repräsentiren sollen, in ihrer Sprache Anstand und Würde bei Seite setzen, so beleidigen sie offenbar die Volkshoheit und können nimmermehr als Ausdruck der öffentlichen Meinung betrachtet werden."⁵³

Seidensticker also solicited contributions for his paper from Europe. He corresponded with Freiligrath, who was then in London, and who promised to become a contributor. Freiligrath tried to interest Karl Büchner, Hoffman von Fallersleben, and Karl Heinen. Before many contributions arrived, however, Seidensticker severed his connection with the *Demokrat* and began to issue *Der Bürgerfreund*, which appeared every Saturday from May 1, 1847, to March 18, 1848, and, moreover, contained some correspondence from London and Germany.⁵⁴

During the decade preceding the Civil War a considerable number of German American periodicals of a socialistic leaning sprang up.⁵⁵ In 1850 the *Freie Heimath*, edited by August Gläser, who was also contributing to Weitling's newspaper, began publication at Philadelphia. March 30, 1850, the *Volksvertreter*, a daily, was established by Gläser, N. Schmitt, and J. M. Reichart, also at Philadelphia. Both these papers did not exist long. In January of this year Weitling began to put out his *Republik der Arbeiter*, which existed till July, 1855. It came out first as a sixteen-page monthly; April 18, 1851, it changed to a weekly, and it ended again as a monthly in 1855. On the title page is represented a balance on one tray of which are the words *Pflichten und Arbeiten*, on the other

⁵³ *Volks-Tribun*, November 14, 1846. (Quoted.)

⁵⁴ *German American Annals* I, 1, p. 75 ff.; for a list of papers existing in 1848 see *Philadelphier Demokrat*, June 21, 1848.

⁵⁵ Cf. *Der Deutsche Pionier*, V, 334 f.

Rechte und Genüsse. April 18, 1851, the sub-title *Centralblatt der Propaganda für die Verbrüderung der Arbeiter* is added.

In December, 1850, Weitling expressed himself as being well satisfied with the attitude taken by the German American editors, generally, towards his undertaking. In Germany he says, where the press was edited with a certain "Gelehrten-dünkel," perhaps only three of the score of dailies would have supported his theories, but here the *New Yorker Demokrat*, the Philadelphia *Freie Presse*, and the Ohio *Beobachter* endorsed them unreservedly, while the following were favorable: *New Yorker Staatszeitung*, under the editorship of W. Dietz, later publisher of the Virginia *Staatszeitung*, the Cincinnati *Arbeiterzeitung*, later the *Union*, the Pittsburgh *Courier*, the New Orleans *Republikaner*, the *Fackel*, the Illinois *Staatszeitung*, the Baltimore *Correspondent*, the New York *Tribune*, the Milwaukee *Volksfreund*, the Michigan *Tribune*, the Baltimore *Herold*, the Buffalo *Demokrat*, the St. Louis *Anzeiger des Westens*, the St. Louis *Tribüne*, the Philadelphia *Demokrat*, the New York *Schnellpost*, and the Cincinnati *Volksblatt*. The movement was opposed by the *Zuschauer*, a Whig paper of Washington, the various religious periodicals, the *New Yorker Abendzeitung*, the Buffalo *Weltbürger*, and the *Westboten* of Columbus.⁵⁶

New Orleans, via which city many German immigrants came in this period, had an *Arbeiter-Blatt*, a weekly, established in 1850, and edited by A. Kattmann. During the early part of 1852 Leopold Stiger published the *Communist* at Cleveland.

During 1853 Adolph Strodtmann, the poet, literary historian, and journalist, was publishing his illustrated comic weekly, *Die Lokomotive*, at Philadelphia. Like so many papers of the time it was a losing venture financially. It was somewhat in the position of a post-Faustian character in a three act farce published in it who remarks:

"Da steh' ich nun, ich armer Thor,
Und bin so dumm, als wie zuvor,
Und hab' kein Geld, doch viel Humor.
Abersch mit dem Humor ohne Geld
Is kein Fortkommen in der jitzigen Welt."⁵⁷

⁵⁶ *Republik der Arbeiter*, 1850, p. 190 f.

⁵⁷ *Die Lokomotive*, p. 88. Cf. the poem by Beyschlag, p. 94.

In the spring of 1852 Joseph Weydemeyer, a personal friend of Marx and Engels, published a few numbers of the monthly, *Die Revolution*; the second number contained Marx' *Der achtzehnte Brumaire des Louis Bonaparte*. Dr. Gottfried Kellner,⁵⁸ a university-bred man from Göttingen and Heidelberg, who had poured out his wrath in a little volume of *Hessen-Lieder* directed against the Hessian princes and who had edited the *Hornisse* of Cassel, escaped to New York in 1852, where in the next year he was elected editor of the *Reform*. Three years later he went to Philadelphia to edit the *Demokrat*, since he was not in thorough sympathy with the Communists of New York. Weydemeyer succeeded him as editor of the *Reform*, which came out as a daily since October 15, 1853, but suspended publication in April of the next year. Dr. Abraham Jacobi, of Communist fame in Cologne, was connected with this paper. Schlüter calls it the most important of all communist and socialist labor papers established by the forty-eighters.⁵⁹

Another *Reform* was established by the German laborers of Baltimore in 1850. The *Wecker*, which succeeded the Baltimore *Herold* in 1851, with C. H. Schnauffer as editor, was at first in sympathy with Weitling's agitation but later changed its policy.

The *New-England Zeitung*, of Boston, likewise supported the labor movement of the fifties, as did the *Newarker Zeitung*, published by Fritz and Mathilde F. Anneke.

Mathilde Franziska Anneke (1817-84) had already entered upon a journalistic career in Germany where as a young woman of about twenty she edited the *Westfälisches Jahrbuch* in conjunction with Levin Schücking, Freiligrath, and others. At one time she received a pension from the King of Prussia for her talent as a writer, but she had to forego this when she espoused Communism. In 1847 she married Fritz Anneke, a former Prussian military officer, and the next year when the latter was a political prisoner, she established the *Neue Kölnische Zeitung*, which was soon suppressed. She transformed the paper into a *Frauenzeitung*, which stood for

⁵⁸ For a short biographical sketch see *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Pionier-Vereins von Philadelphia*, 1909, X, 26-31.

⁵⁹ Hermann Schlüter, *Die Anfänge der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung in Amerika*, Stuttgart, 1907, p. 148.

woman's rights and the cause of labor. Continued political turmoil caused them to emigrate in 1849 to America, where in 1852 Mrs. Anneke began publishing the *Deutsche Frauen-Zeitung* at Milwaukee. Later they moved to Newark, where Anneke founded the *Newarker Zeitung*, which labored in conjunction with Weitling for the organization of labor. From 1860-65 Mathilde Anneke was in Switzerland and contributed to the New York *Belletristisches Journal* and the Illinois *Staatszeitung*. Since 1865 she lived for the most part in Milwaukee until her death in 1884.

During 1850 and 1852 Karl Marx contributed a series of articles on Germany to the *New York Tribune*.⁶⁰ Marx had been recommended to the managing director, Charles A. Dana, by Ferdinand Freiligrath. He was subsequently engaged as regular London correspondent. The letters were popular, for on the twelfth of March, 1852 Dana wrote: "It may perhaps give you pleasure to know that they (i. e. the letters on Germany) are read with satisfaction by a considerable number of persons, and are widely reproduced." The *Tribune* was then edited by Horace Greeley and among its contributors were Bruno Bauer, Bayard Taylor, George Ripley, and many of the Brook Farmers. Marx was living in London at that time.

On March 2, 1853 some laborers and journalists of New York gave a banquet in the Shakespeare Hotel in honor of August Willich who had just arrived from Europe. Red flags and the tri-color decorated the hall where 250 plates were laid. Willich spoke in an address of the failure of the revolution in Europe, but prophesied that it would break out again on account of the oppression of the lower classes. Addresses were also delivered by Weitling, Rödel, Hünemann, Krantz, Schramm, Dr. Kellner, Standau, H. Richter, Komlossi, and H. Ahrens. A sword was presented with appropriate ceremony to Willich, and \$20.18 was collected for the imprisoned comrades in Cologne and Paris. The *New Yorker Staatszeitung* reported the banquet as follows:⁶¹

⁶⁰ *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany in 1848* by Karl Marx. Edited by Eleanor Marx Aveling. Chicago, 1914. Note by the editor is dated Sydenham, April 1896.

⁶¹ Quoted by *Republik der Arbeiter*, March 12, 1853.

"Grünthum losgelassen. Blutrothes Melodrama im neusten Coullissenreiszestyl. Zu dem, dem Bürger Willich zu Ehren veranstalteten Banquet hatten sich am Mittwoch Abend vielleicht mehr als 300 bärtige Germanen in dem geräumigen Saale des alten kommunistischen Hauptquartiers versammelt. * * * Die aufgetragene Mahlzeit und auch der Wein fanden, wie wir berichtet wurden, allseitiges Lob; aber die Zuthaten zu dem Gastmahl, die Reden, in denen die Revolution im Nu 'gefixt', alle Egoisten gehängt und das gesammte Eigenthum der Welt unter die 'wohlmeinenden Revolutionäre' und Kommunisten vertheilt wurde, sollen einigen der Anwesenden doch etwas unverdaulich im Magen gelegen haben."

Willich subsequently furthered the cause of Communism in Cincinnati, Louisville, Milwaukee, and St. Louis. For a while preceding the Civil War in which he served with distinction he edited the *Republikaner* of Cincinnati.

Among the obscure Communist newspapers of the fifties were Wilhelm Rothacker's *Menschenrechte* and Rittig's *Unabhängiger*, both published at Cincinnati. Of similar character was the *Proletarier* of Chicago founded by H. Rösch in 1853. Mention is made in May, 1855, of an *Arbeiterfreund* of New York published by a certain Heerbrandt who sought to gain influence among the workers.⁶² About this time Heinrich Loose occasioned the publication of the *Arbeiter* at Milwaukee which paper stood for social democratic principles.

From March 27 to May 8, 1858 the Workingmen's League of New York maintained as their organ, *Der Arbeiter*, the only German labor paper in that city openly supporting slavery.⁶² W. Banque was its editor. On the latter date it changed to the New York *Morgenzeitung*, a Democratic organ. From April 24, 1858 to May 26, 1860 the General Workingmen's League issued the *Soziale Republik, Organ der freien Arbeiter*, which was a radical anti-slavery weekly. February 18, 1860 the sub-title was replaced by the motto: *Freiheit, Gleichheit, Brüderlichkeit*. Gustav Struve was the editor. Other prominent journalists connected with it were Wilhelm Kopp, Adolf Douai, Theodor Bracklow, and P. Rödel.—Just before the outbreak of the Civil War Joseph Weydemeyer was publishing the *Stimme des Volkes*, a labor paper of Chicago.

⁶² Schlüter, *Die Anfänge*, etc., p. 156; *ibid.*, p. 169.

During the war there was a lull in the activity of the communistic propagandists; regardless of their various economic and political theories the German Americans nobly followed the flag to extinguish slavery and save the Union.

From September, 1864, to December, 1865, the *New Yorker Arbeiterzeitung, Wochenblatt für Unterhaltung und Belehrung*, was published by George Degen. It spread the doctrines of Schulze-Delitzsch but was chiefly intended for general reading.⁶⁸ It combatted the plans of Lassalle. By 1868 the International had established the *Abendpost* at San Francisco. This same year the *Revolution* of New York was advocating woman suffrage and espousing the cause of labor. Towards the close of the decade *Der Deutsche Arbeiter*, a short-lived weekly, made its appearance in Chicago; it was published by the German Central Union of Workmen. Much general reading matter was presented to the subscribers by the *Arbeiter Union* of New York existing from June, 1868 to September 17, 1870. It changed from a weekly to a daily on May 23, 1869. Its readers were chiefly laborers but by no means all Socialists. Since this time the most widely distributed German Socialist papers have followed the policy of making their contents of general interest to satisfy readers of different tastes. At the time of the Franco-Prussian War the *Arbeiter Union* strongly advocated internationalism which proved unpopular, so that it gradually lost subscribers and was finally forced to suspend publication. After Dr. Landsberg, Adolf Douai was its editor for two years.

Karl Daniel Adolf Douai (1819-88) was probably the ablest journalist to advocate and popularize Marx' scientific Socialism in America from 1868 to 1888. Practically every New York Socialist newspaper and many others of this period contained well written articles from his pen. He was a descendent of a French refugee family and a native of Altenburg. From 1838-41 he studied at Leipzig and then for six years he was a private tutor in Russia before he established his Realschule at Altenburg. Being arrested for taking part in the Revolution of 1848 he could not continue his school, so he emigrated to New Braunfels, Texas, where he taught

⁶⁸Schlüter, *Die Internationale*, p. 16 ff.

school and later published an abolitionist paper at San Antonio until he was forced to flee. For four years he lived in Boston where in 1859 a workingmen's association founded by him helped him organize a school with a kindergarten, the first in Boston. In 1861 he went to Hoboken and since 1866 he was active as a teacher and journalist in New York. When the *New Yorker Volkszeitung* was established in 1878 he was elected associate editor. Douai was a very intelligent and persistent advocate of his cause. He remarked that originally the Social Democrat agitation could turn only to the philosophically minded Germans, French, Scandinavian, and Czech immigrants since English translations of Marx and Lassalle were lacking. Furthermore scientific Socialism had to be popularized, for he remarks: "Für die angelsächsische und irische Bevölkerung aber ist die Philosophie 'neben dem Nichts zuhause,' und das abstrakte Denken muss ihnen nach hergebrachten Schablonen zugeschnitten sein um Anklang zu finden; Kritik ist ihre schwache Seite."⁶⁴ Douai was, after all, less of a politician than a writer and teacher.⁶⁵

During the early seventies Socialism was somewhat dormant, but with the panic of 1873 and the labor troubles of 1877 it was revived and new journalistic ventures were undertaken. The *Arbeiterzeitung* of New York controlled wholly by workingmen and edited by the tailor, C. Carl, was founded in 1873 and continued about a year when disagreement put an end to it. F. A. Sorge attempted to have Liebknecht of Leipzig appointed a contributor but his efforts were in vain. The *Arbeiterstimme* and the *Sozialdemokrat*, both of New York, were first issued in 1874; the former was succeeded in January by the *Volkszeitung* which has since then with able editors as Adolf Douai, Sergius E. Schewitsch, Alexander Jonas, and Hermann Schlüter grown to be, probably, the most important German Socialist newspaper in America. Alexander Jonas, a Berlin Social Democrat, contributed much to establish the prestige of the *Volkszeitung* through his remarkable business ability and jour-

⁶⁴*Die Sozialdemokratie in den Vereinigten Staaten, in Neue Gesellschaft II*, p. 139 ff. (1879).

⁶⁵Cf. *Kindergarten und Volksschule als sozialdemokratische Anstalten*, Leipzig, 1876.

nalistic talent. He also wrote occasional poems and in 1884, published a pamphlet, *Reporter und Sozialist, Ein Gespräch über Ziele und Wege des Sozialismus*, a propaganda treatise, which found wide circulation. The present editor, Hermann Schlüter, is likewise a talented journalist and writer of distinguished ability. Other men who have been associated with the *Volkszeitung* are Grunzig, Degen, Cuno, and Franz.

The *Fortschritt*, a literary weekly, edited by Anna Metz Byland, which championed the rights of women began its campaign in 1875.

The *Philadelphia Tageblatt, Offizielles Organ der Vereinigten Deutschen Gewerkschaften*, champions the rights of the laborer, and stands for many socialistic principles. It was established in 1877 and has grown to be one of the most widely read newspapers of its kind. Among the journalists associated with it were J. Franz Paul Lossau, Wyl, and G. A. Hepner. Louis Werner has been associated with it since January, 1879, and under his able and judicious editorship, now ably assisted by Dr. Darkow, it has attained a high position of eminence in its field.

Other Eastern papers of this decade were the *Freigeist* (Boston?) which was soon discontinued and the *Vorwärts* of Newark, a daily published from 1877 to 1879. In the central West appeared between 1876-77 the *Chicagoer Sozialist* and *Volkszeitung*, the *Neue Zeit* at Louisville, the *Ohio Volkszeitung* at Cincinnati, and the *Volksstimme des Westens* at Saint Louis—all dailies. During this decade about twenty-five German Socialist papers of more or less importance supported the party. Among them were, moreover, the *Arbeiter am Ohio* (Cincinnati), *Arbeiterfreund* (Chicago), California *Arbeiterzeitung* (San Francisco), Chicago, *Arbeiterzeitung* with its Sunday edition, *Die Fackel*, and weekly *Vorbote*, *Der Emancipator* (Milwaukee), *Der Sozialist* (Milwaukee), *Die Tribüne* (Buffalo), and *Der Volksanwalt* (Cleveland-St. Louis). These papers were, as a general rule, conducted on the coöperative plan. Those with the largest circulation were the New York *Volkszeitung*, the Chicago *Arbeiterzeitung*, the Saint Louis *Volksstimme des Westens*, and the Philadelphia *Tageblatt*. Among the editors of this period were Joseph Brucker, Gustav Lyser, Louis Werner, Paul

Robertstein, Conrad Conzett, Hermann Sigel, George Winter, Otto Walter, Heinrich von Ende, and C. Savary. The Socialist press was still largely in the hands of the Germans.

During the decade 1880-90 a number of the above papers stopped publication but others took their place. This was the period when the radical elements threatened to disrupt the movement. Among the periodicals were the *Arbeiterzeitung* of Belleville, Illinois, the Cleveland *Volksfreund* (est. 1885) and the Illinois *Volkszeitung* published in 1886 by Paul Grottkau and Julius Vahlteich, two recently immigrated Socialists. Grottkau was a careful student of labor problems. Two years later he was editor of the Milwaukee *Arbeiterzeitung*. Maurice Reinhold von Stern, now a poet of considerable note, who was in America from 1880-85, founded the *New Jerseyer Arbeiterzeitung* of Newark. Stern entertained rather radical notions at this time. In 1888 the St. Louis *Tageblatt* was first issued; its editor was Adolph Hepner, a friend of Bebel and Liebknecht, all of whom were involved in the "Leipziger Hochverrathsprozess." Hepner and Otto-Walster who were both editors of St. Louis papers have since then returned to Europe. They were also authors of note.

In January, 1885, Joseph Dietzgen,⁶⁶ called the "philosopher of the proletariat" by his friend Marx, became editor of the newly established *New Yorker Sozialist*. However in the following year he went to Chicago to continue the *Arbeiterzeitung* whose editorial staff were arrested for alleged bomb throwing. His idea was to harmonize the radical and conservative factions, thinking that probably Anarchism was a transition stage to a more advanced Socialism. The Chicago *Arbeiterzeitung* had been established in 1876 when the *Vorbote* (est. 1874) purchased the interests of the *Volks-*

⁶⁶ Dietzgen came to the United States for the first time in 1848, but after a few years returned to Germany. At the outbreak of the Civil War he was again in America for a time but returned again to Europe where he was a factory superintendent at St. Petersburg for a time, and a tanner in Siegburg on the Rhine from 1869 to 1884. In 1869 he published his *Das Wesen der menschlichen Kopfarbeit, eine abermalige Kritik der reinen Vernunft von einem Handarbeiter*. At the same time he wrote for the newspapers. Karl Marx and daughter visited him while he lived at Siegburg. From 1884 to his death in 1888 he was active as a journalist in New York and Chicago. His complete works in three volumes were published at Wiesbaden in 1911 by his son Eugen.

zeitung. Early prominent editors of the paper were Conrad Conzett and Paul Grottkau; in 1880 August Spies and Michael Schwab succeeded. After the condemnation of the latter two men for the part they played in the Haymarket riot of 1886 Christensen became editor.

The Milwaukee *Vorwärts* was first issued in 1881 and its weekly edition, *Die Wahrheit*, dates from 1888; Victor L. Berger, one of the ablest and most popular Socialists in the country, was the editor for a number of years. At present the *Vorwärts* is ably edited by Heinrich Bartel. Another paper of this decade was the Buffalo *Arbeiterzeitung* dating from 1887.

Among the radical sheets the most notorious was John Most's *Freiheit, Internationales Organ der communistischen Anarchisten deutscher Sprache*, published since 1881 in New York. Its motto was: "Gegen die Tyrannen sind alle Mittel gesetzlich." It advocated the propaganda of the deed as a means towards establishing a kind of visionary anarchistic, communistic state. Towards the end of the eighties the *Amerikanische Arbeiterzeitung* (New York) represented the views of a few dissenting Anarchists. Its most noted contributor was W. Hasselmann, a gifted writer and popular speaker, who arrived in the United States in 1880. He originally supported the principles of Lassalle but on May 4, 1880 he declared that the time for parliamentary prattle had ended and that the time for action had come.⁶⁷ His journalistic venture proved a failure and he soon settled down to private life. In 1888 the Boston *Liberty* edited by Benjamin R. Tucker, started to publish a German bi-weekly edition, the *Libertas*, which was an exponent of Proudhon's doctrine. As to its policy it stated: "*Libertas besteht auf der Selbstherrlichkeit des Individuums und den gerechten Lohn der Arbeit; auf der Abschaffung des Staats und des Wuchers; auf der Einstellung aller Herrschaft des Menschen über den Menschen; und der Einstellung aller Ausbeutung des Menschen durch den Menschen; auf der Anarchie und der Billigkeit.*"⁶⁸ Before this time Nathan Ganz who was formerly connected with the London *Freiheit*

⁶⁷ Bernstein, *Die Berliner Arbeiterbewegung*, II, p. 44.

⁶⁸ Quoted by C. H. Boppe in *Am. Turner-Kalender*, 1889, p. 112.

had expressed his radical notions in the monthly, *Anarchist*. Three other radical anarchist papers of this period were the *Alarm* of Chicago, the *Parole* of St. Louis, and the *Nemesis* of Baltimore. In 1885 the revolutionary element had seven German, two English, and two Bohemian periodicals. After the Haymarket tragedy the radical press rapidly lost influence and the saner Socialist press regained its control.

The freedom of the press was thoroughly exploited by many of the radical editors and contributors. In America they could publish caustic criticisms of European authorities, a venture, which in Germany under the anti-Socialist laws, was very hazardous. Some of the German American papers were excluded by these laws. These are according to *Nach Zehn Jahren*, (II, 106): *Bäckerzeitung* (New York, 1887), *Chicagoer Arbeiterzeitung* (1879), *Californier Arbeiterzeitung* (San Francisco, 1879); *Die Fackel* (Chicago, 1887), *Der Freidenker* (Milwaukee, 1879), *Die Freiheit* (London-New York, 1879), *New Yorker Volkszeitung* (daily, 1884; Sunday, 1884; weekly, 1879); *Philadelphia Tageblatt* (1885), *Der Sozialist* (New York, 1885), *Amerikanische Turnzeitung* (Milwaukee, 1885), *Vorbote* (Chicago, 1881), *Arbeiterzeitung* (Belleville, Ill., 1880 from Zwickau), *Der arme Teufel* (Detroit, 1888 from Magdeburg), *Der Freiheitsfreund* (Pittsburg, 1882 from Leipzig). The year indicates when the exclusion took effect.

A unique weekly of considerable literary merit and which exhibited radical tendencies was Robert Reitzel's *Der arme Teufel*, published at Detroit from 1884 to 1900. After Reitzel's death in 1898 it was continued for two years by Martin Drescher. Concerning the policy of his paper Reitzel said:

"Ich machte mir keinerlei Programm und setzte mir keinen Canon, ich verliess mich einfach darauf, zu schreiben, was mir und Andern einfällt. Einer gewissen Aufgabe wurde ich mir jedoch bald klar. Zwei Ströme galt es, in ein Bette zu leiten, die man gewöhnlich, aber irrthümlicherweise für feindliche hält: den revolutionären Mut des arbeitenden Volkes unsrer Zeit und den sehnächtigen Drang aller Menschennatur nach dem Schönen. Schwierigkeiten bereitete mir die Sache genug, und das Unglück, zwischen zwei Stühlen mich niederzusetzen, war nie ausgeschlossen. 'Was gehn uns die Dichtergeschichten an und Ihre eigenen Liebeleien,' schrieb mir der

Eine, 'schreiben Sie mit Flammenschrift, auf dass diese gottverfluchte Gesellschaft dem Untergang näher komme.' 'Bleib uns mit Deinen Weltverbesserungsvorschlägen vom Leibe,' mahnte der Andere, 'Mensch bleibt Mensch, d. h. ein abwechselnd gewalttätiges und feiges Tier, du aber halte dich an das, was die Ausnahme geschaffen, Shakespeare, Göthe, und nütze dein Talent, Verständige zur schönen Literatur zu animiren.'"⁶⁹

Reitzel was the life and soul of the paper since he wrote most of the original articles and dominated its policy. It had no party affiliations. As a journalist Reitzel exhibits originality of style and criticizes society by standards rather peculiar to himself. To literature he applies like standards. In selecting reprints for his journal he showed a preference for such writers as Friedrich Vischer, Gutzkow, Börne, Heine, Liliencron, Hermann Lingg, Karl Henckel, C. E. Franzos, J. H. Mackay, Gottfried Keller, Richard Dehmel, Otto Ernst, and others. These authors possess qualities which struck a sympathetic chord in Reitzel's soul.⁷⁰

In 1890 twenty-six German American papers of a socialistic leaning, were published according to *Ayer's American Newspaper Annual* of that year. They were the *Arbeiterzeitung*, the *Fackel*, and *Vorbote* of Chicago, the *Indiana Tribune* of Indianapolis, the *Michigan Arbeiterzeitung* and *Tageblatt* of Detroit, the *Parole* and *Tageblatt* of St. Louis, the *Freiheit*, *Sozialist*, *Tailor*, and *Volkszeitung* of New York, the *Cincinnati Zeitung*, *Cleveland Volksfreund*, the *Volksblatt*, *Volkszeitung*, *Vorwärts*, and *Wahrheit* of Milwaukee, and the *Tageblatt* of San Francisco, Belleville, Buffalo, and Pittsburgh, respectively. The oldest of these, the Chicago *Vorbote* was established in 1874, while nineteen were founded during the eighties. Among the older are the *Arbeiterzeitung* of Chicago, the *Tageblatt* of Philadelphia, and the *Volkszeitung* of New York; the last named led with a circulation of 21,395 for its daily and weekly editions.

⁶⁹ *Der Arme Teufel*, November 25, 1893, *Zum zehnten Waffengang*.

⁷⁰ Cf. A. E. Zucker, *Robert Reitzel as Poet*, *German American Annals*, N. S. XIII, p. 58 ff. (1915), and the introduction to Reitzel's *Schriften* by Max Baginski.

CHAPTER III.

THE INDEPENDENT CONGREGATIONS AND SOCIALISM.

Rationalism had steadily gained ground in Germany from 1750 to 1835, the year when two notable books appeared, Bauer's *Die christliche Gnosis oder die christliche Religionsphilosophie in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung* and Strauss' *Leben Jesu* which revolutionized Biblical criticism. To the industrial and political turmoil of the thirties and forties was now added this blow to the supernatural concomitant with the philosophy of Hegel, Feuerbach, and others. The effects were likewise, to be felt in America. Since 1815 American students had studied at German universities, and German rationalists had emigrated to America. Among the most prominent of the early arrivals was Carl Follen who came in 1824, and shortly afterwards became a Unitarian minister at Boston.

Most of the 'Dreissiger' were men of liberal views in religious matters, and practically all of the newspapers established by them were rationalistic. Among these were J. G. Ritter's *Amerikanischer Correspondent* (1825),⁷¹ J. G. Wesselhoeft's *Alte und Neue Welt* (1834), Wollenweber's *Der Freisinnige* (1838), Thomas' *Freie Presse* (1848), Ludvigh's *Wahrheitsverbreiter* (1840) and *Fackel* (1849), Försch's *Vernunftgläubige* (1838), Mühl's *Lichtfreund* (1840), and Walker's *Hochwächter* (1845). Moreover, in 1847 Thomas published a German translation of the theological works of Thomas Paine, which passed through several editions.

In Germany there arose in the early part of the last century the so-called Independent Congregations (*Freie Gemeinden*) as a revolt of rationalistic thought against revealed religion. An early organization were the "Protestantische Freunde" or "Lichtfreunde" (1841) under the leadership of Uhlich and Wislencus. The Catholics under Johannes Ronge also established independent congregations, the first being at Breslau. Among the prominent men connected with the movement at this time were Rupp, Baltzer, Nees von

⁷¹ The years are the date of founding in each case.

Esenbeck, Hofferichter, Vogtherr, Robert Blum, Rossmässler, Duller, Sachse, Hrabowsky, Scholl, Albrecht Rau, Czerski, Ludwig Würkert, and August Specht. In 1845 the Catholic congregations formed a union and two years later the Protestants followed. Other organizations were formed since then. In 1851 the independent movement numbered 312 congregations with 150,000 members, while in 1906 the number had decreased to 100 congregations with 40,000 members.⁷³ This decline is ascribed to persecution by the authorities and a side-tracking of interest towards a unified Germany and towards Socialism. The position taken by most Socialists towards the established church is practically the same as that of the independent congregations.

As early as 1836 an independent congregation was established at Philadelphia by Heinrich Ginal; this existed till 1855. Ginal has been mentioned in connection with the communistic experiment at Teutonia.⁷³ In 1846 he established another congregation at Milwaukee. August Gläser, who preached to the congregation at Philadelphia in 1848, said that rationalism had long been the essential basis for the theory of the equal rights of man and that Ginal was the first to pass from the word theory of it to active Communism in the United States.⁷⁴ Ginal's rationalism was based on the theories of Paulus Neander and Schwarz.

In the spring of 1846 Ronge received a written promise of support from some dissenting Catholics of Reading, Pennsylvania.⁷⁵ Towards the end of the same year Dr. Giustiani, a former Franciscan monk, was instrumental in founding an independent congregation of about 200 people of German descent at New York. Later he was also active in Philadelphia, and by 1851 there were two independent German Catholic congregations in that city.

In September 1835 Heinrich Scheib became the pastor of Zions church at Baltimore which belonged to no synod, and three years

⁷³ Max Hempel, *Was sind die Freien Gemeinden?* 3. rev. Aufl., Milwaukee, 1906.

⁷⁴ Chapter I, p. 12 f.

⁷⁵ *Volks-Tribun*, June 13, 1846.

⁷⁶ *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Pionier-Vereins von Philadelphia*, 11. Heft (1909), p. 7; see also Iola K. Eastburn, *Whittier's Relation to German Life and Thought*, *Americana Germanica*, XX (1915), p. 101 f.

later he and P. M. Wolsieffer were publishing the *Allgemeine Schulzeitung*. Before 1848 Försch and Ludvigh were active in organizing the liberal minded Germans of New York.

The failure of the Revolution of 1848 proved disastrous to the Freie Gemeinden of Germany as to all other bodies of liberal convictions. As a result, many of the oppressed came to America where they sought to express in word and deed their confused complexes of radical ideas. The ensuing effect upon politics and the press has already been discussed in chapters one and two.

The "Freimännervereine" of the fifties which were even more radical than the independent congregations arose as a result of this immigration. The movement began in full force at Cincinnati in 1850 where Friedrich Hassaurek, the author of the novel, *Hierarchie und Aristokratie*, and the editor of the *Hochwächter*, was the chief leader. Here a large hall was built and from it the movement radiated to the neighboring states for about five years when lack of agreement and dissensions practically put an end to it.

Other societies were organized in this same decade by the free-thinking German element, and in many instances, they started to publish a periodical. Jakob Mueller says of them: "Zwischen 1852 bis 1854 entstanden fast in jeder grösseren und mittleren Stadt in den Vereinigten Staaten radikale und freisinnige Tageszeitungen, Wochen—und Monatsschriften, meist von hochgebildeten Menschen, und talentvollen Köpfen redigirt, und bestimmt, der Aufklärung, dem politischen wie sozialen Fortschritt zu dienen."⁷⁶ Most of these had but a limited circulation and were short-lived. With these undertakings were connected such men as: Hollocher, Fenner von Fenneberg, Kompe, Heinrich Rochotte, August Thieme, Christian Esselen, John Klippart, Karl Heinzen, and others. The movement was hampered by lack of agreement and united effort among the leaders. Moreover, their ideas which were rooted in the social conditions of Europe were somewhat out of place in America with its freedom of speech, of the press, and of assembly. There was no

⁷⁶ Jakob Mueller, *Aus den Erinnerungen eines Achtundviersigers*, Cleveland, 1896, p. 27.

strong external force, no decided opposition, to crystallize the movement.⁷⁷

From 1850 to about 1860 the chief centers of the independent congregations were New York, Boston, Milwaukee, St. Louis, and Philadelphia. In 1850 Eduard Schroeter founded a congregation at New York, and during the next year he extended his activities to Boston where he also met Theodore Parker. G. Grahl, Heinrich Loose, and Carl Lüdeking also supported the organization in New York and Domschke went to Boston. Another congregation was initiated at Buffalo by J. de Marle in 1850, and a year later one was instituted at Galveston, Texas. Two other leaders at New York in 1853 were Rudolph Dulon and Karl Schramm. Dulon declared that man alone is the source of all truth and that scientific investigation must replace blind faith in the traditional. It must be noted, however, that these free thinking Humanists did not generally associate with the unschooled proletarian disciples of Weitling. Franz Schmitt, a former member of the Frankfort Parliament, was instrumental in organizing the first independent congregation of its type in America at St. Louis November 6, 1850.⁷⁸ Other leading exponents in this city were Carl Lüdeking, G. R. Doehn, W. Würpel, and J. B. Engelmann. The inception of the Philadelphia congregation in 1852 was due to Eduard Graf of Wiesbaden. Two early presidents of this congregation were Nicklaus Schmitt and Dr. Georg Seidensticker. Two years later under the speakership of Fr. Schünemann-Pott it began a flourishing career, and also became closely associated with the independent Sunday school of the Arbeiterbund. Especially through the efforts of Ed. Schroeter almost a dozen congregations were organized in Wisconsin after 1852.⁷⁹ In 1853 Hr. Loose succeeded Schroeter as editor of the Milwaukee *Humanist* (est. 1851). Loose and Willich helped organize the "Sozialer Turnverein" of Milwaukee. Subsequently Loose became a champion of social democratic principles and found-

⁷⁷ Cf. Metzners *Jahrbücher I*, pp. 241-249, *Die freien Deutschen in Wisconsin, Kentucky, and Ohio* (from *Turnzeitung* of April 15, 1854); also the *Freidenker Almanach*, Milwaukee, 1878.

⁷⁸ Hempel, *Was sind die Freien Gemeinden?* p. 7.

⁷⁹ *Mitteil. d. Pionier-Vereins v. Phila. XI*, p. 12.

ed the *Arbeiter*. Later leaders at Milwaukee were Graf, Biron, Fr. Schütz, J. Brucker, and Hr. von Ende.

The "Kommunistenklub" initiated at New York in 1857 declared in the first paragraph of its constitution: "Die Mitglieder des Kommunistenklubs verwerfen jeden religiösen Glauben; in welcher Art und Weise er sich auch gestalten möge, sowie jede nicht auf unmittelbare Sinneswahrnehmung beruhende Anschauung."⁸⁰ This indicates the similarity of principles supported by the Communists and Freethinkers. This club joined with the Workingmen's League of New York in 1868 and formed a Socialist Party, the first political labor party with modern socialistic views in America. The Communist, E. I. Koch,⁸¹ became a speaker of an independent congregation at New York in 1865, the year, when E. J. Löwenthal and A. Douai led in establishing another congregation at Hoboken. In the following year these two men and Schünemann-Pott initiated the "Bund der Freidenker" at New York. In 1869 K. T. Bayr-hoffer, formerly a professor at Marburg, organized some farmers of Putnam and Lasalle Counties, Illinois, into a "freisinniger Verein." Bayr-hoffer, a compatriot of Dr. Kellner, was secretary of the congress of laborers at Frankfort on the Main in June, 1848, when Julius Fröbel served as chairman and Hermann Kriege was also present.⁸² These facts indicate how closely the Communists, Socialists, and Freethinkers were associated.

After the Civil War F. A. Sorge was active in a secret order, the "Secularisten," at New York, which was atheistic in nature and sought to push social reforms. They believed that all theological doctrines in the world are based on ignorance and that they formed an insuperable barrier against the mental, moral, and social progress of mankind.⁸³ The society was the meeting ground for liberal minds of various tendencies. Later like many of the free thinkers Sorge became interested primarily in Socialism, and became the trusted representative of Marx' interests in America.⁸⁴

⁸⁰ Quoted by Waltershausen, p. 32.

⁸¹ Chapter I, p. 21.

⁸² Cf. *Mitteil. d. Deut. Pionier-Vereins v. Phila.* XI, 21; *German American Annals*, V, p. 19-25 (W. A. Fritsch).

⁸³ *Pionier, Volkszeitung Kalender*, New York, 1908 (Schlueter).

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, *Die Neue Zeit*, Stuttgart, XXV, 1: 145 ff. (1906); *ibid.*, XVII.

The independent congregations of Sauk City (Wis.), St. Louis, Dane County (Wis.), and Philadelphia, in the meanwhile, formed the "Bund der Deutschen Freien Gemeinden von Nordamerika" in 1859 at Philadelphia. In 1870 the congregation at San Francisco was established and elected Schünemann-Pott speaker. At this time Fr. Leis and Hr. von Ende were the chief leaders at New York. The latter arranged for the lecture tour of Ludwig Büchner whose book, *Kraft und Stoff*, a popular scientific treatise that passed through twenty or more editions, was also extensively read by rationalistic German Americans. Hedwig Henrich-Wilhelmi, a rationalist, champion of woman's rights, and Socialist, also lectured in the United States during the latter eighties.

During the centennial year of 1876 a great conclave of radicals, freethinkers, Turners, Socialists, and others met at Philadelphia. Karl Heinzen was the leading spirit in effecting a loose sort of organization which did not exist long. In their platform they promulgated various radical principles with reference to political, social, economic, and religious questions.⁸⁵ Some of their economic principles have since been incorporated into progressive legislation. At the second convention held at Philadelphia in 1879 it was decided to coöperate with the Socialists at elections after previous agreement on principles. The union gradually disintegrated.

In 1897 chiefly through the efforts of Max Hempel and C. Hermann Boppe a new union of Freie Gemeinden and Freidenkervereine was formed at the Turner convention in St. Louis, which city and Milwaukee have since been the centers of the movement. Other men, besides those already mentioned, prominent in the work are Heinrich Huhn, Max. Grossman, Hermann Pfäfflin, Robert Reitzel, C. L. Henning, Paul Carus, Otto Soubron, Ph. Rappaport, and Emil Liess. The independent congregations, as such, have not been very prosperous; the economic questions of modern society created an interest in the materialistic side of life which tended to draw the attention away from the more idealistic aspirations.

Victor L. Berger said in an address on January 28, 1893, delivered to an audience of Turners and Freidenker in speaking of the du-

⁸⁵ *Mittel. d. Deut. Pionier-Vereins v. Phila.* XXIII, pp. 1-20; also XI, p. 23.

ties of the latter towards the working class: "Jede Religion war stets allem wirklichen Fortschritt abgeneigt, jede Religion war stets eine Stütze des herrschenden Systems,—und jede Religion ist jetzt, bei uns in Amerika wenigstens, eine Hauptstütze des herrschenden Bürgertums. Die herrschenden Mächte fühlen es instinktiv, dass alle Religionen wie Opium wirken. * * * so schläft das Volk unter keinem Deckmantel fester und sicherer, * * * als eben unter dem Deckmantel der Religion."⁸⁶ Many Socialists hold this point of view. The Turners and Freie Gemeinden have long advocated many principles in common; for example, the Freie Gemeinde at Louisville in 1852 considered its duty to be "durch alle ihm zu Gebote stehenden Mittel die sozialen, politischen und religiösen Reformen im Sinne des radikalen Fortschritts zum richtigen Verständnisse seiner Mitglieder zu bringen."⁸⁷ The part the Turners played in the history of Socialism in America will be discussed in the next chapter.

⁸⁶ *Die Wahrheit*, Milwaukee, February 4, 1893.

⁸⁷ Quoted in *Mitteil. d. Deut. Pionier-Vereins v. Phila.*, XI, p 26.

CHAPTER IV.

THE TURNERS AND SOCIALISM.

The first large organization to further the cause of liberalism including many of the principles of modern Socialism were the Turners who, however, were primarily interested in gymnastics and athletics. The Turners had liberal ideas concerning all the larger institutions of society especially in regard to church and state.

The first Turnverein in America was organized at Cincinnati on October 22, 1848, and about a month later the New York society was instituted. In the same year the Newark Turners organized, and a year later came Boston, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. The St. Louis Turnverein originated in 1850, and in the following year arose the Peoria and Indianapolis societies. Practically all the Turnvereine up to the middle of the fifties arose as a result of the revolution in Germany, especially that of Baden in 1849.⁸⁸

June 6, 1850 thirty-six dissenting members of the New York society who were laborers created the Sozialistischer Turnverein of New York which drew up a provisional constitution designed for the proposed union of all the societies. Paragraph two of this document reads: "Der Zweck des Bundes ist neben den körperlichen Turnübungen dem geistigen und materiellen Drucke entgegenarbeitend, wahre Freiheit, Wohlstand und Bildung für alle Klassen nach Kräften zu fördern." August 21, 1850 delegates of the two New York Turnvereine and of the Brooklyn Turnverein met in the Shakespeare Hotel to deliberate on the above article. Considerable discussion resulted, also as to the name of the proposed union of societies.

This agitation led to the founding at Philadelphia on October 5, 1850 of the Associated Gymnastic Union of North America, which name, however, was changed in the following year to Socialistic

⁸⁸ For the history of the American Turner movement see Heinrich Metzner, *Jahrbücher der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Turnerei. Dem gesammten Turnwesen mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Geschichte des Nordamerikanischen Turner-Bundes gewidmet.* 3 Bde. New York. 1892-94; *Amerikanischer Turner-Kalender.* Milwaukee, 1880 ff.; also the files of *Der Deutsche Pionier* and of the various Turner periodicals.

Gymnastic Union.⁸⁹ They adopted a platform containing the following provision: "Die vereinigten Abgeordneten des ersten Turnertagssatzung in Nordamerika erkennen als obersten und leitenden Grundsatz des Turnerbundes an; Die Beförderungen des Sozialismus und der Bestrebungen der sozialdemokratischen Partei. Sie sind daher der Ansicht, dass es bei der körperlichen Ausbildung des Menschen mit im Hauptzweck der vereinigten Turngemeinden liege, sich am jetzigen Kampf zur Erstrebung der vollkommensten Unabhängigkeit des Einzelnen, (wie sie die sozialdemokratische Partei zu erreichen sucht), mit ganzer Kraft zu betheiligen und unterwerfen zu dem Zwecke folgende Satzungen:—"⁹⁰

Gradually the strict intention of the Turners definitely to propagate socialism was somewhat tempered. Changes in the names of the societies resulted. The word "social," or "social-democratic," or "socialistic" was dropped in many cases. Take for example the society at Philadelphia. In 1852 the *Verfassung der Social-Turngemeinde* reads in paragraph one: "Der Zweck der Gemeinde ist das Turnwesen und den Socialismus durch Wort und That aufs Kräftigste zu fördern." By 1860 the constitution gives the name of the society as "Social Demokratische Turngemeinde" and its purpose (paragraph 2): "Das Turnwesen und die Grundsätze des Socialismus durch Wort und That aufs Kräftigste zu fördern." The constitution and by-laws of the Philadelphia Turngemeinde revised and adopted in January, 1866 state that the purpose of the society is: "durch all ihm zu Gebote stehenden Mittel die radikale Reformbestrebung auf socialem, politischem und religiösem Gebiete zum richtigen Verständnisse seiner Mitglieder zu bringen." In all the societies there was more or less discussion as to how far radically socialistic movements and doctrines ought to be supported which condition frequently resulted in dissension among the members.

⁸⁹ The word "socialistic" had a somewhat different connotation in 1850 than at present; it was then generally used to characterize the extreme left of the forty-eighters, the most radical of the revolutionists, who hoped to found a republic in Germany. In the minds of many Turners "socialistic" pertained to being politically free.—Schlüter, *Die Anfänge der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung in Amerika*, p. 202.

⁹⁰ For the names of the early leaders of the Turners see: *Namenliste der Pioniere des Nord-Amerikanischen Turnerbundes der Jahre 1848-1862. Im Auftrag des Bundesvororts zusammengestellt von Hugo Gollmer, corresp. Schriftwart.* St. Louis, 1885.

The most recently immigrated were, as a rule, most severe in their denunciation of existing social conditions.

During the early period socialistic or social-democratic Turnvereine were organized in New York, Utica, Brooklyn, Rochester, Baltimore, Indianapolis, Newark, Philadelphia, Albany, Columbus, O., Elizabethtown, Madison, Ind., New Haven, Pittsburgh, Staten Island, Washington, Cleveland, Yorkville, Germantown, Alleghany, Rahway, Providence, Trenton, Memphis, Orange, Joliet, Chicago, Milwaukee, Poughkeepsie, and elsewhere. At first most of the Turners were laborers who had received their ideas of the corrupt condition of society and government in Europe. It often happened that the same men were active in both Socialist and Turner circles, as for instance, Franz Arnold and Joseph Weydemeyer who wrote articles for the *Turnzeitung*.⁹¹

The first Turner paper in the United States was published by the Cincinnati Turngemeinde from January to October of the year 1851. It appeared as a monthly and Heinrich Essmann, Wilhelm Rothacker, and Gustav Tafel were its editors. November 15, 1851 the first number of the *Turnzeitung* made its appearance in New York with Sigismund Kaufmann as editor. It was first a monthly and later a weekly. By 1853 it was published by Wilhelm Rapp and Gottfried Becker at Philadelphia. Later it was published at Cincinnati and in 1861 it had been transferred to Baltimore where its office was stormed by pro-slavery men. These early numbers contain many illuminating articles with reference to the early history of the Turners in America.

In 1853 the executive offices of the Turner Union were transferred from New York to Philadelphia. Gradually the Turners became more diversified in their interests. Wilhelm Rapp, the editor of the *Turnzeitung*, advocated "unser Bund soll ein Sammelplatz sein für alle Elemente des entschiedenen Fortschritts, für alle Feinde der Geldaristocratie, des politischen Stillstandes und des Pfaffenthums"⁹² The organization was not to exist for Socialists alone; it was no longer primarily to effect an economic reform of

⁹¹ Cf. the article *Sozialismus und Turnerei* presumably from the pen of Franz Arnold in Metzners *Jahrbücher* I, p. 145 ff.

⁹² Metzners *Jahrbücher* I, p. 202 f.

society.⁹³ In time some of the Turners who were laborers became small business men which change tended to affect their attitude towards Communism. However at the fourth general "Turnfest" in 1854 Rapp asserted that "with few exceptions the members of the Turner Union belonged to the working class."

In 1855 the settlement company of the "Sozialistischer Turnerbund von Nordamerika" was organized and a committee was appointed to select a location for a colony. In the next spring W. Seeger and W. Pfänder of Cincinnati and Chas. Preusser of Cleveland, who constituted the committee appointed, after travelling through several states of the West finally decided upon New Ulm, Minnesota, as a suitable location for the project. They made an agreement with the settlers who were already there and in the spring of 1857 the Turners' colony became a fact. It prospered subsequently, only during the Civil War (August 18, 1862) when a large number of men were at the front the Indians massacred a large number.⁹⁴

The Turners were strongly opposed to slavery and when the Civil War broke out they volunteered in large numbers. This colossal conflict overshadowed all other questions. Some of the more prominent Turners of communistic convictions who took part in the war were Joseph Weydemeyer, August Willich, Fritz Jacobi, Robert Rosa, Alois Tillbach and Dr. Beust. Willich was a member of the London communist league in 1848 together with Marx and Engels. He enlisted at the outbreak of the war, and having advanced rapidly to the ranks of lieutenant and colonel, he was commissioned brigadier-general in 1862. Rosa, an ex-officer of the Prussian army and a member of the New York Communist Club, served in the Forty-fifth New York Regiment and achieved the rank of major. Jacobi enlisted as a private and advanced to the rank of lieutenant, and fell at Fredericksburg.

⁹³ Schlüter in his *Die Anfänge der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung* (p. 214) comes to the conclusion: "Der Sozialismus des amerikanischen Turnerbundes war mehr ein Name, als eine Vertretung wirklich sozialistischer Prinzipien. Eine *proletarische* Organisation ist diese Vereinigung nie gewesen, und was in ihr als Sozialismus zum Ausdruck kam, war ein Gemisch von bürgerlichem Radikalismus und unklarem sozialistischem Streben, das mehr im Gefühl, als in Einsicht und Erkenntnis seinen Ursprung hatte."

⁹⁴ For accounts of New Ulm see *Der Deutsche Pionier*, III, IV, and VIII.

After the war the Turners became more interested in American politics and their socialistic propaganda receded into the background. Even the name of the organization was changed. Although in 1876 there were a "sozialistischer Turnverein," a "sozialistische Turnschule," and a "sozialistischer Turnklub" in New York, who however had little influence on the Turnerbund, which no longer strongly advocated Socialism. They did not favor the socialist state of the future, but they did advocate better pay and better living conditions for the laborer. About half of the members were now small business men, officials, teachers, lawyers, and editors, while the other half belonged to the better paid wage earning class.⁹⁵ Since 1882 some of the Turner societies have advocated the principles of Socialism again. By 1885 the Turnerbund was urging the local societies to debate the question of the collective ownership of the means of production.⁹⁶

The position taken by the various Turner societies of Chicago towards the labor troubles of 1886 was divided; a part sympathized with the radicals and some of the Illinois societies were finally excluded from the Turnerbund. Some of the Milwaukee Turners also sympathized with the accused. In New York there was a movement on foot to exclude all the advocates of Communism and Anarchism, but the influence of the wage-earning element was too powerful in the Turnerbund, so the central board and the organ of the Bund opposed the step.

The Turnvereine are no longer of great importance in spreading Socialism. They have ceased to be a distinctly German organization, and as the English language encroached upon the German the subject of Socialism lost its original medium of dissemination. Fewer German books relating to the subjects are read. Many of the books still found in the Turner libraries were quite popular about the middle of the last century, but the younger generation takes little interest in them. However, the Turners have not stopped agitating the question of Socialism at their conventions and other meetings. A man who in recent years was a prominent Turner and Socialist propagandist was Philipp Rappaport of Indianapolis. A character-

⁹⁵ Waltershausen, *Der moderne Sozialismus*, p. 34.

⁹⁶ *Amerikanischer Turner-Kalender* for 1885, p. 112.

istic list of his lectures taken from an announcement issued by the authority of the Turnbezirk Philadelphia des Nordamerikanischen Turnerbundes, June 1, 1903, includes the following subjects: *Die materialistische Weltanschauung, Hunger und Liebe, Der Sozialismus vom historischen und ethischen Standpunkte, Die sittliche Wirkung der Konkurrenz, Des Menschen Kampf ums Dasein in Natur und Gesellschaft, and Die Familie in Vergangenheit, Gegenwart, und Zukunft.* Emil Liess of San Francisco delivers lectures on similar topics. Many of the principles advocated by the North American Gymnastic Union are now generally considered socialistic. They oppose, for example, the extreme concentration of wealth, and political power in the hands of a few, the exploitation of labor by capital, and they defend the rights of the individual.⁹⁷

⁹⁷G. A. Hoehn, *Der Nordamerikanische Turnerbund und seine Stellung zur Arbeiterfrage*, 1882; *Die Stellung des Nordamerikanischen Turnerbundes zur sozialen Frage und zur Politik*, in *Turner-Kalender*, 1887, p. 49 ff. (J. Lucas); *Allgemeine Grundsätze des Nordamerikanischen Turnerbundes. Angenommen von der 23. Bundestagsatzung in Chicago am 28., 29. und 30. Juni und 1. Juli 1908.*

CHAPTER V.

SOCIALISM REFLECTED IN GERMAN AMERICAN LITERATURE.

Was soll die zerronnene Herrlichkeit,
Wie Träume und Märchen sie künden?—
Wir sind die schaffenden Kinder der Zeit;
Wir singen die Schuld, wir singen das Leid,
Wir singen der Welt ihre Sünden!

Wir suchen mit brennenden Seelen
Erlösung aus tosendem Streit,
Und ob wir auch irren und fehlen,
Wir dienen in Treue der Zeit.⁹⁸

German American literature did not develop as a succession of well-defined currents. It remained essentially a transplanted product springing up spontaneously wherever Germans collected. Various organizations such as the Turners, the churches, the labor organizations, and singing societies did, however, tend to bring about a similarity of theme and unity of effort in given channels. The sadness of parting from the fatherland with all that this term signified to the German heart, and the ensuing memories gave rise to the sweetest notes. The press with its corps of able editors did much to cherish all that was dearest in German culture. The leaders and almost all the authors were connected with it. But the struggle for existence in a strangely new land, and the constant encroachment of the English language hindered the development of a German American literature as such.

In characterizing German American literature Amalia von Ende says strikingly: "Heimat, Vaterland, Muttersprache—ihnen weiht der Genius der deutsch-amerikanischen Dichtung den weitaus grössten Teil seiner Blüten—und viele, erschreckend viele haben etwas Blutarmes und Sehnsuchtkrankes. Nur ganz vereinzelt schlägt er andere Saiten an, und dann wird die Kluft zwischen modernem deutscheuropäischem und modernem deutsch-amerikanischem Denken offenbar. Es ist eine ganz kleine Gemeinde, die mit dem Zeit-

⁹⁸ Konrad Nies, *Funken*, p. 183 f.

geist Schritt gehalten hat."⁹⁹ This chapter will trace the reflection of this Zeitgeist in German American literature.

The literature of the early German settlers was largely of a religious nature, for they had come mainly to seek religious freedom. The writings of the early Communists consist, likewise, chiefly of poetry and treatises on religious subjects.¹⁰⁰ There is nothing strikingly new about it, since it was, for the most part, a reflection of the Pietistic movement.

With the economic and political changes of the early part of the nineteenth century, and especially with the revolutions of the thirties and forties the quest for the mysterious "blue flower" of Romanticism was abandoned for the more realistic services of the Zeitgeist. The common people led by educated liberals began to realize their own individuality, their own importance, in a country manifestly governed by arbitrary tyrants. Such poets as Herwegh and Freiligrath put their whole soul into the struggle of the people for their political rights. It was the beginning of a new realistic epoch in literature, and Biese rightly calls the death of Goethe (1832), the Hambacher Fest (1832), and the opening of the first German railway (1835) the "drei Marksteine der deutschen Geschichte im neunzehnten Jahrhundert, welche zugleich den Abschluss der grossen idealistischen Kulturepoche und die ersten Anfänge einer neuen realistischen bezeichnen."¹⁰¹

The transition was represented by Young Germany who opposed the classicists and romanticists alike and demanded that poetry should serve the common weal and politics in general. They called attention to the weaknesses in man's social institutions and made poetry a handmaid of reform. They were only following the principle of ethics and politics already propounded by Jeremy Bentham: the greatest happiness for the greatest possible number. The newspaper which was from now on to serve the man on the street as well as the leisure class at court developed rapidly and became the forum of public opinion. When America became the "political

⁹⁹ *Das literarische Echo*, I, p. 998 (May 15, 1899).

¹⁰⁰ Chas. Nordhoff, *The Communist Societies*, New York, 1875, p. 421 ff.

¹⁰¹ Alfred Biese, *Deutsche Literaturgeschichte*, II, München, 1911, p. 557.

Utopia" of Young Germany this new movement took root in the New World and found unhampered expression.¹⁰²

Industrial and social Europe was in the throes of a sweeping transition period. Many Europamüde left for the wilds of America to escape the corrupt and diseased Europe. New conditions in the economic world demanded new standards of the conduct of life, but Ernst Willkomm complained in his notable book, *Die Europamüden* (1837)¹⁰³ that Europe was suffering from the epidemic of judging the confused times by standards long since antiquated. The old man portrayed in the book hates to leave his beloved Germany but, "Es ist nicht mehr möglich, als ehrlicher Mann durch die Welt zu kommen in jetziger Zeit. Alles bricht zusammen, die Armuth macht widerspenstig und irreligiös. * * * in Gottes Namen, Kinder, gehen wir hinüber nach Amerika" where his children may have a future.¹⁰⁴ At another place the author maintains: "Die Sünden der Welt sind die Folgen der fluchwürdigen Verhältnisse, die geboren wurden aus socialer Unnatur, mystischer Heuchelei—" ¹⁰⁵

Reinhardt Erbschloe, a forty-eighter, depicts the economic conditions of the times in his *Walther und Martha in zwölf Gesängen* with the hexameters:

So war der Zustand in Deutschland und den benachbarten Ländern
Gegen das Ende der ersten Hälfte uns'res Jahrhunderts.
Viele Verhältnisse waren nicht mehr wie früher bestehend,
Neue Erfindungen stürzten so manches über den Haufen,
Und wenn das Volk auch per Dampf konnte reisen für wenige
Kosten,
Hatte es noch nicht begriffen den Vortheil der eisernen Schienen,
Viele verloren ihr Brot und wussten nicht, was zu beginnen,
Uebervölkerung machte sich fühlbar in allen Bezirken.
Tausenden blieb nur das Auswandern übrig als einzige Wahl;

Aber es war auch das einzige Mittel, um alles zu helfen;
Freiheit versprach es, bei Duldung des Glaubens und Brot.
Sein Utopien konnte sich wählen ein Jeder nach Lust,
Wie das Bedürfnis ihn trieb, dem Vaterland zu entsagen.

¹⁰² Cf. T. S. Baker, *America as the Political Utopia of Young Germany*, in *Americana Germanica* I, No. 2; pp. 62-102 and *Der Deutsche Pionier*, VII and VIII.

¹⁰³ Ernst Willkomm, *Die Europamüden*, Leipzig, 1837, I, p. 26 ff.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., II, p. 106 ff.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., I, p. 353.

Nordamerika war für die meisten das Land der Verheissung;
Tausende hatten gefunden daselbst die gewünschte Beglückung,
Hundert Tausende waren bereit, ihr Heil dort zu suchen.¹⁰⁶

This was the time of the industrial revolution in Europe when group production was replacing individual effort and the factory system was crowding out the old guild system. As a result many new economic theories were developed in England and France which spread to neighboring lands. After the revolutions of this period Geneva, Paris, Brussels, and London became the meeting places of the refugees of the countries in turmoil. Societies were founded by them and political tracts published. This social ferment in the nations was threatening to disrupt the social fiber to its very foundation. Old ties and customs were broken up and people began to think for themselves. Many Germans fled to Paris and Switzerland where they met and organized to spread the new political and economic doctrines to Germany.

This upheaval in society caused many an obscure laborer and scholar to break out in lyrical gushes which, however, were frequently curbed by the strict censorship of the German authorities. In France a whole school of "Arbeiterdichter" flourished. Much of the best of their poetry was subsequently collected and translated by Adolph Strodttmann who was himself captivated by the movement.¹⁰⁷ In his *Brutus schläfst Du?* he uttered the battle cry:

Das Auge hell, die Stirne hoch und frei:
So bricht das Schwert von starker Faust umschlossen,
Der Arbeitsmann sein Sklavenjoch entzwei!
Auf! lasst die Banner fliegen!
Es gilt ein letztes Kriegen!
Hinaus zum Kampf! Die Freiheit führt uns an!
Fortan gehört die Welt dem Arbeitsmann.

†† Most of the poetry was of an inferior type written by dilletantes; only occasionally did the pent-up feeling of the agitated laborer find an adequate expression.

Karl Heinzen in one of his critical attitudes calls the poetry of the Communists "eine wahre Hunger—und Jammerpoesie, die in

¹⁰⁶ *Gedichte*. St. Louis, 1864, p. 184.

¹⁰⁷ *Die Arbeiterdichtung in Frankreich*, New York, 1863?

ihrer geschäftsmässigen Produktion und Absichtlichkeit schon eine bedeutende Höhe auf dem Parnass der Abgeschmacktheit erstiegen und völlig aufgehört hat, eine menschliche (soziale), ja Poesie überhaupt zu sein. Mit ihrer Poesie geht es den Herren wie mit der Prosa; obschon ihre Hauptgegenstände die populärsten der Welt sind; nämlich Essen und Trinken, so kann sie es doch nicht zur Popularität bringen. Nichts aber ist natürlicher, als solch ein Resultat; wenn man von der einen Seite die trivialsten Marktoobjekte zum Gegenstand aufgeriebener Doktrinen macht und von der anderen das Ideale, das man mit der Idee vom Staat fahren und von einem bornirten Realismus verschlingen lässt, nur durch Bier und Leberwurst zu ersetzen weiss."¹⁰⁸

This political and socialistic tendency first found expression in America in the writings of the "Vorachtundvierziger" and then in those of the "Achtundvierziger." The literature resulting was of a varied character—periodicals, treatises on social, economic, and political questions, and polite literature.¹⁰⁹ In this chapter the writer will endeavor especially to trace the socialistic tendency in the latter. The word socialistic in this treatise is construed in its widest sense as relating to conditions affecting man which have resulted from the historical development of social institutions such as: political struggles, the contrast between the rich and the poor, labor and its sufferings and rewards, the people at work and at play, society and crime, and the like.

Weitling's primary interests were to reshape the social fiber and to elevate the masses. Most of his writings had this purpose in view.¹¹⁰ In 1844 Hoffmann and Campe published his *Kerkerpoesien*, which appears to be the only volume of poems that he wrote. It is not of the first class but some of the poems are products of genuine emotion. A number were reprinted in the *Republik der Arbeiter*. The poem, *Die Nacht*, written in January, 1844, will serve as an illustration; it was reprinted in the above paper July 12, 1851.

¹⁰⁸Karl Heinzen, *Die Opposition, Mannheim*, 1846 p. 47.

¹⁰⁹Cf. Chapter II, and also the Bibliography.

¹¹⁰For Weitling's career see p. 8 ff.

The poem depicts very vividly the experiences of a night spent in prison :

Entschwunden ist die matte Tageshelle;
Mit starken Schritten naht die stille Nacht,
Dem trauernden Gefang'nen in der Zelle,
Der seinen Schmerz den stummen Wänden klagt—
* * * * *

So schweigend, denkend, wird in stiller Zelle
Von Manchem hier der Abend zugebracht;
Denn lichter sprudelt die Gedankenquelle
In stiller Einsamkeit und finst'rer Nacht,
Mein Hoffnungsgrün soll dieser Quell erfrischen
Das Wissen sich drin neue Perlen fischen.
Gedanken nähren Geist und Hoffnung noch.
Das freie Wort kann ein Tyrann wohl hemmen,
Doch den Gedanken kann er uns nicht nehmen,
Was unser Geist durchdacht, das bleibt uns doch.
Da draussen füllt bei grossen Festgelagen
Sich mancher Schlemmer noch den weiten Bauch;
Viel Andre nimmt der Hunger bei dem Kragen,
Wie hier im Haus die armen Schlucker auch,
Aus welchen Frost und Elend Thränen pressen,
Gesundheit, Muth und Lebenskraft, indessen,
Ein And'rer sich fette Renten macht.
Das nennt man Freiheit! dieses Sklavenjoch!
Und "sie soll leben" schrien die Pinsel noch.
Ist's möglich! Gott, welch' finst're Geistesnacht!—

Es schlägt jetzt acht. Der Spulen und der Räder
Geschnurre schweigt. Das Tagwerk ist vollbracht.
* * * * *

Soon the author imagines that the people everywhere retire but he hears the clock strike the hours. In the dead stillness of night he exclaims:

Horch! Was war das? Es krachte!—Da, schon wieder!
Das sind die dicken Balken an der Thür.
Der Zahn der Zeit nagt dieses Bollwerk nieder;
Bald wird es fallen aber früher wir.—
Vereingt hat der Mensch den Bau errichtet,
Vereinzelt aber wird er drin vernichtet,
Vereingt kann er draussen widerstehen,
Wenn Neider und Tyrannen sich vermessen,
Aus ihm der Thränen bitterste zu pressen;
Vereinzelt muss er hier zu Grunde gehn.

After the hours have crept by he continues—

Die Uhr schlägt fünf! Gleich wird der Wächter läuten.
 Die Nacht ist aus, ein neuer Morgen graut.—
 O holde Freiheit! schönste von den Bräuten,
 Die träumend meines Geistes Auge schaut,
 Wann wirst du unser Hochzeitbett bereiten,
 Wann mich heraus aus diesem Kerker leiten?—
 Was mich erfreute, gab ich für dich hin;
 Ich lebte ja nur, um für dich zu werben;
 Ich muss dich haben, oder für dich sterben,
 So wahr ich hier für dich im Kerker bin.

* * * * *

At another time in December, 1843, when the monotony of imprisonment has brought on another night he soliloquizes:

Ein Traum, ein Wahn ist dieses kurze Sein,
 Ein Wogenspiel oft was wir denken, schaffen;
 Ein Wellenschaum, den wir zusammenraffen,
 Hüllt unsers Lebens ganzes Wirken ein.
 Jetzt fluthen wir noch stolz und kühn daher,
 Im Augenblick darauf sind wir nicht mehr.
 Horch, heulend dort sich Wog' auf Woge bricht,
 Wo meines Glaubens dunkler Leuchthurm steht,
 Und meiner Hoffnung letztes Banner weht.
 Hier Muth gefasst mein Herz, verzage nicht!¹¹¹

These examples will suffice to illustrate the nature of Weitling's *Kerkerpoesien*. When Weitling was released he devoted himself wholly to agitating the cause of the laborer. Other poems written by obscure authors and plain handicraftsmen appeared in the *Republik der Arbeiter*. They bore such titles as *Proletarier Gedanken*, *Das Geld*, *Verbrüderung*, *Stilles Gebet am Grabe der Reaktion*, *Kommunistenfresser-Lied*, and so on. The second of these, *Das Geld*, begins:

So manches erhabene schöne Talent
 Geht oft für die Welt verloren;
 Denn es braucht zu seiner Entwicklung Geld
 Und ist zur Armuth geboren.

¹¹¹ *Republik der Arbeiter* for 1851, p. 160.

Das Geld nur allein ist der Fortschritt der Welt,
Des Geistes, Wissens, der Künste;
Aber das Geld den Armen in Schränken hält,
Dem Reichen schafft es Verdienste;—

* * * * *

Weitling's position with reference to Christianity and property is expressed in his *Der kleine Kommunist*.

Ich bin ein kleiner Kommunist
Und brauche niemals mehr
Als mir zum Leben nötig ist,
Das andre geb' ich her.

Ich bin ein kleiner Kommunist
Der seine Brüder liebt
Und alles, was sein eigen ist,
Auch gerne Anderen gibt.

* * * * *

Ich bin ein kleiner Kommunist
Und frage nicht nach Geld,
Da unser Meister Jesus Christ
Davon ja auch nichts hält.

Ich bin ein kleiner Kommunist,
Ich bin's mit Lieb und Treu.
Und trete einst als treuer Christ
Dem Arbeitsbunde bei.¹¹²

Weitling's favorite project was Communia where he expected to create a Utopian society. He has given us a fine description in a rather attractive style of the surrounding country as it appeared to him early one morning in May, 1853:

"Nie werde ich die angenehmen Eindrücke dieses nächtlich frühen Spazierganges vergessen. Es war eine wahrhaft italienische Nacht so wie ich sie oft in Büchern geschildert gefunden habe. Eine milde, laue Frühlingsluft umwogte uns, kein Nebel lag auf den Bergen oder stieg aus den Thälern empor. Das Mondlicht dämmerte in seiner Mischung mit dem nahenden Morgenlichte täuschend durch die Bäume des Waldes, dessen blühende Kräuter und Bäume uns stellenweise ihr erquickendes Aroma zuführten. Endlich wurde es Morgen und welch ein Morgen! Wir befanden uns hier im vollen Frühling. Da blühten in den Wäldern und Praierien, an den

¹¹² *Republik der Arbeiter*, January 1, 1853.

Bächen und Abhängen die wilden Aepfel—, Pflaumen— und Kir-schenbäume und die von den letzteren zu unterscheidenden Wild-cherries zugleich mit den Erdbeeren und Maiäpfeln in voller Pracht, umkränzt vom jugendlichen Frühlingsgrün der Wälder, Felder, Wiesen und Büsche. Der Wipperling, welcher in der Neige der Nacht und bis zum dämmerenden Morgen uns durch seinen ein-tönigen Gesang ergötzt hatte, verstummte allmählig, um die Laub-frösche das grosse Frühlingskonzert fortsetzen zu lassen."¹¹⁸

A poetical view of the surrounding country appeared in the *Republik der Arbeiter* for December 6, 1851. It was doubtless writ-ten by Weitling and is modelled after Goethe's Mignon.

Kennst du das Land der grünen Praierien,
Durchschnitten von der Wälder schattig Grün?
Das hohe Land in heit'rer reiner Luft,
Gewürzet von pikantem Kräuterduft,
Das Land, an dem der klare Turkey fliesst,
Der mit kristall'nen Armen es umschlingt?
Kennst du es wohl, dahin, dahin,
Möcht aus der Städte Lärm und Dunst ich ziehn!

Kennst du das Land, kennst du die Praierien,
Durch die der Squalls und Blackbirds Schaaren ziehen?
Wo tief versteckt im Gras das Feldhuhn liegt
Und flatternd, wenn du nahst, von dannen fliegt?
Wo hoch im Kreis der kleine Geier zieht,
Und tief im Thal die wilde Rebe blüht?
Kennst du es wohl, dahin, dahin,
Möcht ich mit allen meinen Freunden ziehn!

Kennst Du das Land, durch dessen Waldesgrün
Die stolzen Hirsche nach der Tränke ziehn?
Wo der Fasan in dunklen Büschen weilt?
Und der Raccoon vor Deinen Schritten eilt?
Wo wilder Enten gold'ne Farbenpracht,
Dir Wald und Flur zum Paradiese macht?
Kennst Du es wohl, dahin, dahin,
Möcht ich mit allen guten Menschen ziehn!

Kennst Du das Land so still und doch so schön
Wo zwischen Hügeln einige Häuser stehn?
Wo durch der Praierien frisches Grün,
Die fetten Heerden auf die Weiden ziehn?—

¹¹⁸ Letter from Communia, May 27, 1853, published in the *Republik der Arbeiter*.

Kennst Du auch dort der Menschen guten Sinn,
Und sehnst Du Dich nach solchen Menschen hin?
Ich kenn' es wohl, mein Freund, drum sag' ich: Ja!
Ich zieh mit Dir! zieh nach Kommunია!

The prairies with their natural charms were very attractive to Weitling, who was well acquainted with many of the corrupt phases of European civilization. His earnest desire was to furnish the people of limited means an opportunity to enjoy life. In all of his writings he felt that the material rewards of life were unequally distributed, that the common people were chafing under this lack of proper adjustment. For instance, after visiting Niagara Falls his only wish is that every inhabitant of New York, whether rich or poor, might see this wonder of the world. After the failure of Communia he practically disappeared from further notice during the last eighteen years of his life. He seems not to have written anything of note during this seclusion.

In Europe the new scientific Socialism based on English political economy and the Hegelian philosophy as advocated by Marlo, Rodbertus, Marx, and others overshadowed all.

When Heinzen (1809-1880) first came to New York in 1848 Weitling sought to win him over to his cause, but the former was too aristocratic and individualistic to associate with an unschooled tailor whom he considered an old fogey.¹¹⁴ He saw little good in Weitling's Communism and less that was practical. Heinzen's activities consisted largely in combatting arbitrary governments and revealed religion. For his sharp criticism in *Die preussische Bureaukratie* (1844) he was forced to flee to Belgium, where he continued writing newspaper articles until he was finally compelled to emigrate to America, where he arrived at New York in January of 1848. In a short time he returned to Europe to take part in the revolution of the same year, but returned and became the editor of the *Schnellpost*, which now became unpopular on account of its caustic editorials. After several unsuccessful attempts he finally succeeded in founding the famous *Pionier* (1854-1879), which was largely writ-

¹¹⁴ Cf. Heinzen, *Erlebtes*, II, Weitling's letter on page 165 ff. and Heinzen's answer following.

ten by himself, and in it he fought with bitter satire for the "teutscher Radikalismus," whose zealous champion he was.

Heinzen corresponded with Freiligrath in London, and in 1846, when the revolution broke out in France the latter sent him his poem, *Im Hochland fiel der erste Schuss*, which was published in the *Schnellpost*. Heinzen also became acquainted with Karl Marx at Cologne, where the latter was then editing the *Rheinische Zeitung*, however he called all the Communists "Schwefelbanditen," and is unsparing in his criticism and lambasting of Marx.¹¹⁵

Weitling says of Heinzen: "Heinzen ist ein ausgezeichnetes Rasonniertalent, aber kein Denker, kein schaffender Genius, kein entschieden consequenter Charakter. Er hat sich mit seinen Raisonnements gegen Gott und alle Welt und seiner Sucht, einen originellen Gedanken aufzufischen, aus der teutschen Republik in die *Deutsche Zeitung*, aus der Bekämpfung des Kommunismus bis in die Abschaffung der Erbschaft, in die Mondreisen und Knielangen Damenhosen, ja sogar in die Einführung der Weiberparlamente verirrt, und dabei —ausser seinen Damenhosen—nie einen originellen Gedanken noch ein consequent zusammengestelltes Gesellschaftssystem gefunden. Man erwarte daher von ihm weiter nichts als Kritiken nach allen Seiten hin, gegen Alles, was besteht, denn nach ihm ist alles, was nicht durch und für Heinzen besteht, auch werth, dass es zu Grunde geht."¹¹⁶

The writings of Heinzen are numerous, consisting of radical and political essays, addresses, plays, and poetry.¹¹⁷

Aside from the articles on the labor question Hermann Kriege's *Volks-Tribun* printed numerous poems advocating its cause. Characteristic in its way is one entitled *Auf! für den freien Boden*, by Otto Körnich, which begins:

Gieb ihn frei,
Dass er aller eigen sei!
Freier Boden, freie Erde!
Dass der Irrthum Wahrheit werde,

¹¹⁵ For Heinzen's relations with Marx see Heinzen's *Erlebtes* II, p. 423 ff.

¹¹⁶ *Republik der Arbeiter*, October 4, 1851.

¹¹⁷ Paul O. Schinnerer, *Karl Heinzen, Reformer, Poet and Literary Critic* in *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter*, Chicago, 1915, pp. 84-145.

Gieb den Boden endlich frei,
Tyrannei!

* * * * *

Or Joseph Heise, of St. Louis, in *Für Freiheit und Gleichheit* rather prosaically demands:

Macht frei, macht frei den Boden von dem Gelde,
Der nur für den ist, der ihn selbst bestellt,
Baut euch darauf der Eintracht heil'ge Zelte,
Und lebt als Brüder hier in dieser Welt.

* * * * *

These attempts at poems were written during the Free Soil agitation, and they are exceedingly didactic in nature.

Somewhat more successful was a Milwaukee Communist who addressed Dr. George F. Seidensticker, the political martyr, upon his arrival in 1846, after the following fashion:

Willkommen hier auf fremder Erde,
Du Mann des Wortes und der That!
Willkommen du, den die Beschwerde
Des Kerkers nicht gebeuget hat!

* * * * *

Es schwelgt im Ueberfluss der Eine,
Der Bruder darbt in Noth und Schmach.
Was kümmert, ob der Bettler weine,
Den reichen Whig im Prunkgemach?

Millionen schmachten an der Kette,
Weil sie aus Afrika entstammt,
Millionen jagen um die Wette
Dem Golde nach und einem Amt.

* * * * *

Drum, wackrer Kämpfer, in die Schranken,
Der Fortschritt sei Dein Lösungswort,
Bis Wahn und Vorurtheile wanken,
Bleib Du dem Volk ein sichrer Hort!

Another poem of interest published in the *Volks-Tribun* is the *Tischgebet der Communisten in den Vereinigten Staaten*, a poem of twenty-three stanzas, with the melody:

Es soll uns der Naturgeist walten;
oder: Wer nur den lieben Gott lässt walten.

The poem begins—

Natur! du giebst uns allen Speise,
Nicht nur dem Menschen, auch dem Vieh;
Nicht nur dem Fisch, auch der Ameise,
Erhältst, ernährst und tränkest sie.
Und was ist diese Wunderkraft!
Die alles dies erzeugt und schafft?

Es ist das ewig stille Wirken,
Was immer, ewig fort geschafft.

* * * * *

The author also reminds us that there is enough land for all and that no one needs to suffer. He ends after the fashion of Hans Sachs:

Es singe dies, wer singen kann,
Mit Johann Heinrich Wiedemann!

The poem shows the influence of Ludwig Feuerbach's pantheistic philosophy as expounded in *Das Wesen des Christenthums* (1841), which had been popularized among German laborers by Wilhelm Marr. This crass materialistic philosophy was severely attacked by the churches in the United States.

Another author who contributed occasionally to the *Volks-Tribun* was Paul Harro-Harring¹¹⁸ (1798-1870), a restless soul and native of Sleswick-Holstein. He took part in the Greek Revolution of 1822, and the Polish Revolution of 1832. Two years later he came to the United States and later went to South America to espouse the cause of freedom. In 1848 he took part in the Sleswick-Holstein-Danish War. His restless liberty-loving spirit drove him about from place to place until his death, which occurred at London in 1870. In the name of humanity and freedom Harro felt it his duty to draw the sword for all young nations striving for liberty. He advocated a sort of poetical humanity, which sees a world of free peoples who live and labor together in perfect harmony.¹¹⁹ He

¹¹⁸ *Werke. Auswahl letzter Hand.* 2 Bde. New York 1844 and 1846.

¹¹⁹ In a letter to Kriege published in the *Volks-Tribun* of Feb. 28, 1846, Harro writes: "Du forderst (in Erwiderung meiner Behauptung) von uns einen Musterstaat, der den Geist unserer National-Verbindungen beurkunde? Ich nenne dir La Buade orientale y Uraguay (Montevideo)—als Staat im Geist der Humanität, der seit Zehn Jahren mehr Blut der edelsten seiner Söhne vergossen im Kampf gegen den Despotismus, als eure Communisten jemals Geld geopfert haben,—zur Verwirklichung eures Systems."

accuses the Communists of espousing the crass materialistic interests of a separate class and of overlooking the "spiritual element of freedom" through which alone a people can realize their dignity. In the poem *Der Menschheit Auferstehung* he prophesies:

Es ist kein Traum; es muss verwirklicht werden;
 Die Völker werden wieder auferstehen!
 Das *Himmelreich der Liebe* wird auf Erden
 Im Morgenglanz hervor ins Leben gehn.
 Gelindert werden endlich die Beschwerden
 Der Menschen, wenn sie klar erst eingesehen,
 Was noth ist, und in Liebe sich verbinden:
 Das 'Reich des Herrn' auf Erden zu begründen.¹²⁰

Most of the space of the *Volks-Tribun* is naturally taken up by discussions on the labor question, besides it contains other articles relating to the social and cultural conditions of the times. Charles Vetter announced in its columns historical philosophical lectures on Communism and Socialism, and on German literature for laborers. Poems of Friedrich von Sallet, Alfred Meissner, and others are reprinted among them is Herwegh's *Bettelmanns Hochzeit*, written originally for Weitling's *Die junge Generation*. Heinrich Koch (Antipfaff), of St. Louis, was a contributor, and he reported that the paper had seventy subscribers in his city. August Gläser sketched interesting pen pictures in his *Wanderungen durch New York*. Considerable space is also devoted to the interests of Kriege's "Jung America," who participated actively in American politics.

During the late forties Leopold D. S. Alberti (1816-1892) was active as a journalist in New York. For a time he was the editor of Weitling's *Republik der Arbeiter*. At the age of thirty-eight he

¹²⁰ Quoted in the *Volks-Tribun* of January 31, 1846.

With Lord Byron and many other enthusiasts Harro-Harring idolized Greece as shown in the following stanza quoted from the poem *Lord Byron*, published originally in the *Alte und Neue Welt* (Philadelphia) October 15, 1836:

Und sollst du, Hellas, rettungslos versinken,
 Du schöne Jungfrau in der Jugend Glanz?
 Sollst du den bittren Kelch des Todes trinken?
 Grünt deinem Haupt nur der Zypressenkranz?
 Gebt mir ein Schwert! Dein Ritter steht gerüstet,
 Freiheit und Hellas! sei das Losungswort!
 Und Tod dem Hunde, dem's nach der gelüstet!
 Die Freiheit ruft dich edler Lord!

went to Columbus, Ohio, to study theology and later entered the Lutheran ministry, however, in 1871 he returned to Germany, where he died in 1892, in Sülfield bei Oldesloe. In 1865 he published a volume of poems, *Palingenesie der Hölle*, and in 1898 appeared *Gedichte zweier Brüder*, by Leopold and Eduard Alberti. A few stanzas from his poem, *Die Räuber*, will serve to illustrate the socialistic tendency in his poems:

Was ist Geistesdrang und Bildung
In der Armuth Fluch und Haft;
Nur als Elend in dem Elend
Trug ich Geistesglut und Kraft.

In dem Muthe der Verzweiflung
Schwollen meine Muskeln an,
Und den ganzen Menschen gab ich
Willig in der Arbeit Bann;

Und von allen Erdenschätzen
Wollt' ich durch der Mühe Schweiß
Nur den gar bescheid'nen Zins.
Zum Eintritt in der Menschheit Kreis.¹²¹

It must not be overlooked that some of his best poems are of a different nature, as for instance: *Idyll*; *Kinderguppe*; *Einig, einig, deutsches Volk*; and *Der obere Delaware im Frühling 1853*.

Quite a different personality than Alberti was Gustav von Struve (1805-1870), a journalist and author, who came into contact with the German labor movement of New York during the fifties. He and Hecker were two of the most prominent leaders of the Revolution of 1848, which resulted so disastrously for them. Although Struve associated with the refugee Communists in London, he kept more or less aloof from them as he did later in New York. Up to May, 1859, he was editor of the newly established *Soziale Republik, Organ der freien Arbeiter*, of New York. In it he published among other matters *Eine Proletarierin*, *Roman aus der Revolutionszeit*. Although Struve's works were chiefly of a political character he also wrote the dramas, *Die Verfolgung der Juden durch Emicho* (1846), and *Eines Fürsten Jugendliebe* (1870), *Gedichte*,

¹²¹*Republik der Arbeiter*, December 27, 1851.

published in 1906, and *Handbuch der Phrenologie* (1845). His wife sympathized with him in politics and wrote the novel, *Die Zitherschlägerin* (1850), and other treatises of a biographical and historical nature.

During this same period Victor Wilhelm Fröhlich, a personal friend of Uhland, Kerner, and Lenau, was driven by some unknown impulse to the shores of America. In 1844 he was editing *Die Zeit*, a liberal weekly with communistic leanings, at New York, while shortly afterwards he held the same position on the staff of the Cincinnati *Volksblatt*. Here he also translated Sue's *Les Mystères de Paris*, wrote on the temperance question, and started to write a history of political parties in the United States. During 1847 Fröhlich was the most noted poet in Cincinnati, however, his productions were didactic. He died in obscurity on Ward's Island, New York.¹²²

While the communist agitation was carried on at New York and Cincinnati, Heinrich Koch was championing the cause of liberalism in the church, state, and society at St. Louis. With prose and poetry in his journalistic endeavors he met the enemy on these three fronts. He was a convincing, popular orator, and had great influence with the laborers.¹²³ Many of his poems appeared in the German American papers of the time, a large number in the *Anzeiger des Westens*, the organ of the local "Lateiner." In spite of the abyss existing between the laborers and the latter, Koch was on a friendly footing with both.

After his newspaper ventures had failed he addressed his Communist brethren in the East in the columns of the *Volks-Tribun* (March 14, 1846):

Da giebt es wohl Schreiber, die Zeitungen schreiben
Fürs Pfaffengesindel, für'n wuchernden Gauch,
Doch Hülfe dem Armen, das lassen sie bleiben,
Sie sorgen nur liebend für'n eigenen Bauch.
Auch mir ging zu Herzen das Elend der Brüder
Zu helfen ergriff's mich mit Wort und mit That
Gleich schimpften entsetzlich politische Schmierer,
Und schrien von Umsturz, Mord, Raub und Verrath.

¹²²Cf. *Der Deutsche Pionier* IV, p. 22, and IX, p. 432 ff.

¹²³See the article by A. Eickhoff in *Der Deutsche Pionier* XII, p. 211 ff.

A few months later he spoke in a more resigned if not optimistic tone:

Drum lasset uns wirken und schaffen und bauen,
 Und pflügen und pflanzen mit emsiger Hand,
 Und was wir einst ernten, der Zukunft vertrauen,
 Was heut' nicht verstanden, wird morgen erkannt.
 Die Menschheit lebt ewig! Zum ewigen Reifen
 Kann ewige Wahrheit nicht flüchtig gedeihen.
 Was wir nicht, das werden einst Andre begreifen,
 Was die nicht, der Zukunft kein Räthsel mehr sein.

Koch's revolutionary attitude became somewhat mellowed when age approached; in the poem, *Kartätschen-Prinz*, he confesses:

Kartätschenprinz, wie gern hätt' ich dich
 Vernichtet einst mit wahrer Herzenslust,
 Im bittren Hass, der ganz erfüllte mich,
 Der immer tiefer grub sich in die Brust!
 Nun bin ich alt,—alt sind wir Beide heut',
 Und hoch im Alter geh'n wir Einen Pfad,
 Du als ein König, ich ein Sohn der Zeit,—
 Der Zeit,—die dich geprüft, geläutert hat.—

Another tyrant hater who is characterized by Rattermann¹²⁴ as the "reddest of a red Republican" and a thoroughgoing free thinker was Karl von Schmidt-Bürgeler (1820-1875). He studied theology at Giessen, was disinherited for marrying an actress, and then intended to join the Adelskolonie in Texas, but his plans went amiss. After his arrival, in 1846, in America he was forced to do all sorts of menial labor. For a time he was an actor in Cincinnati. Later he contributed to Rittig's and Rothacker's *Der Unabhängige*, and to the *Volksblatt* and *Volksfreund*. A stanza from his poem, *Der blinde Bettler*, reflects industrial conditions and the plight of the defective—

Ich höre wohl der Arbeit rüstig Weben,
 Hör' wie der Webstuhl saust; der Hammer dröhnt.
 Hör' die Maschine sich im Takte heben,
 Hör' wie des Dampfes Kraft sich müht und stöhnt.

¹²⁴ For biography by Rattermann see *Der Deutsche Pionier*, IX, pp. 461-465.

Doch ich bin blind, arbeiten kann ich nicht,
In meine Nacht kein Sonnenschimmer bricht;
Euch hat Gott gütig helles Leben gegeben;
Doch ich bin blind, bin blind, und muss doch leben!

The forty-eighters brought a mass of new ideas to America. Although there was no one set of constructive ideas to bind them together, nevertheless, they were all exiles who were united in denouncing arbitrary governments and old well-established traditions in general. They were a product of the newly developed German universities. At first most of them expected to return to Germany when the turmoil of the revolution had subsided, later many entertained the idea of establishing a great German Republic probably within the confines of the United States, or even to found a United States of the World. However, such lofty aspirations slackened and were diverted into other channels. "Wie manche geistige Kraft," remarked Eickhoff,¹²⁵ "welche die damaligen revolutionären Stürme in Europa über den Ocean trieben, ist unter dem rauhen Himmel der neuen Welt seitdem verwittert!" Some of them rose to prominence in American politics, a few returned to Europe, and a large number became journalists and authors of more or less note.

Some of the well-known forty-eighters who were at some time in their career interested in furthering socialistic ideas are: Edmund Märklin, Eduard Leyh, Gustav Struve, Julius Fröbel, A. C. Wiesner, E. I. Koch, Carl Schnauffer, Fr. Hecker, G. T. Kellner, Wm. Rapp, Rittig, Fr. Hassaurek, Thieme, K. L. Bernays, Hr. Börnstein, A. H. Strodtmann, Gertrud and Maria Blöde, Dr. Tiedemann, Otto Rupp, Domschke, Fritz and Mathilde Anneke, E. A. Zündt, Chr. Esselen, Ed. Dorsch, Fenner von Fenneberg, Hugo Andriessen, Aug. and Gottfried Becker, Otto Dresel, Wm. Rothacker, R. Solger, R. Erbschloe, Herm. Raster, Niklas Müller, Emil Praetorius, Hr. Binder, Carl Beyschlag, Otto Bretthauer, Karl Schramm, J. H. Wiedemann, and Karl D. A. Douai. In fact, all of the forty-eighters were more or less acquainted with the communistic ideas developing in Europe during the forties, however, they were not generally in

¹²⁵*Der Deutsche Pionier* XII, p. 215.

sympathy with the "Handwerkerkommunismus," as advocated by such men as Weitling.

Many of the ideas held by them are now, generally, considered socialistic. Friedrich Hassaurek said in an address delivered at Cincinnati May 25, 1875, of the forty-eighters:

"Es würde amüsant sein, wenn man alle die Vorschläge zusammenstellen könnte, die damals discutirt und befürwortet wurden. Abschaffung der Präsidentschaft und des Zwei-Kammersystems, Abschaffung der einzelnen Staats-Regierungen, Abschaffung der Ehe und Erziehung der Kinder durch den Staat, Abschaffung des Geldes oder wenigstens Einführung von Progressiv-Steuern, durch welche es den Reichen unmöglich gemacht werden würde, mehr als ein gewisses vorgeschriebenes Vermögens-Quantum zu besitzen, Abschaffung des Erbrechts, Bekleidung und Verkostigung der armen Kinder während der Schuljahre auf öffentliche Kosten, natürlich auch Abschaffung der Sklaverei, Einführung eines Systems der Rückberufbarkeit der Volksvertreter u.s.w. Nach allen Richtungen hin wurde abgeschafft und in allen Himmelsgegenenden wurden die Luftschlösser eines neuen und perfekten Staatswesens aufgebaut. Im Himmel hatte der liebe Herrgott und in der Hölle der Teufel keine Ruhe. Ein Jeder wollte weiter vorwärts gehen und mehr bieten, als alle die Anderen. Wer nicht mit den Weitesten ging und dieselben womöglich zu überbieten verstand, wurde als Reaktionsär oder als konservativer Leisetreter und Feigling verschrien."¹²⁶

One of the most talented poets of the forty-eighters was Adolf Heinrich Strodtmann (1829-1879), a native of Flensburg, who remained but four years in the United States and then returned to Europe. He took part in the Sleswick-Holstein war, and in 1848 entered the University of Bonn, from which he was soon expelled, for writing a satirical poem on Gottfried Kinkel. After spending some time in Paris he went to London and in 1852 the "Europamüde" poet sailed to America:

Ein wilder Geselle auf wildem Meer,
Gewappnet in blinkender Liederwehr,
So komm' ich vom kranken Europa her
Zu euch hinübergeschwommen.

* * * * *

Kein Träumer bin ich, den Kampf erschreckt,
Kein Tor, der bleiche Systeme heckt—

¹²⁶*Der Deutsche Pionier VII*, p. 112 ff.

Mich hat aus dem Schlummer die Zeit geweckt,
Ihr Schaffen rüstig zu teilen;

* * * * *

Und so komm' ich zu euch! was die Stunde bringt,
Ob sie Ketten bricht, ob sie Schwerter schwingt,
Ob sie jauchzende Lieder der Zukunft singt;
Ich will es gläubig erlauschen,

Will mich stellen zu euch in Kampf und Pein,
Bis vom letzten Sklaven die Erde rein,
Und der Gleichheit Banner im Morgenschein
Der Armen Tempel umrauschen.

Strodtmann opened a book-store in Philadelphia, and published an illustrated comic weekly, *Die Lokomotive* (1853), a small eight-page sheet, which soon proved to be a failure financially. In 1856 he returned to Europe.

He was a very productive author and translator. Most of his writings were inspired in Europe, but America left an indelible impression on his memory. His *Brutus schläfst du? Zeitgedichte* (1863) and also *Die Arbeiterdichtung in Frankreich*, a collection of French verse in translation, are distinctly socialistic in character. German American Socialist newspapers frequently reprint poems from these collections. Both of the books were excluded from Hamburg by the anti-Socialist in 1878. Such poems as *Volk und Fürst*, *Für Polen*, and *Arbeiterlied* have as a central thought the oppression of the people that toil by the arrogant ruling class. The latter is a war-cry of the toilers as they march forth to champion the rights of the oppressed. Besides numerous works Strodtmann also wrote the first scientific biography of Heine.¹²⁷

Among the poets who were active in Turner circles and whose works show a tendency to reflect social conditions are Wilhelm Rothacker (1828-1859), Johann Straubenmüller (1814-1897), Carl H. Schnauffer (1823-1854), Ernst A. Zündt (1819-1900), Friedrich C. Castelhun (1828-1906), Max Hempel (1863-1906), and Karl Kniep (1845-). The Turner literature which is not extensive and is chiefly lyrical did not, as a rule, take up economic questions, but was chiefly interested in the mental and physical development

¹²⁷ For a list of his works see *Brümmer, Dichterlexikon*.

of the individual as a free citizen.¹²⁸ The Turners were especially vehement in their denunciation of "Pfaffentum," "Muckertum," and "Temperenz." They opposed oppression of any kind and were uncompromising in their attitude towards slavery.

Rothacker was born in Baden in 1828. Disliking the study of law at the University of Freiburg he went to Tübingen to study literature and æsthetics under the liberal minded Friedrich Theodor Vischer. For his participation in the Revolution of 1848 he had to flee, so he went to Switzerland. From there he went to England and sailed on the same ship with Karl Heinzen for New York, arriving in October, 1850. In America he was connected with the *West Pennsylvanische Staatszeitung*, of Pittsburgh, and the *Hochwächter*, of Cincinnati. In 1853 he founded the *Menschenrechte* in the latter city, which, however, did not prosper, and four years later he became editor of the Albany *Freie Blätter*, which post he left the next year to edit the *Turnzeitung* at Dubuque. He lived but thirty-one years. His *Hinterlassene Schriften* were published by friends at Cincinnati in 1860.

Johann Straubenmüller, the son of a craftsman, was born in Germany in 1814 and died at New York in 1897. During the revolutionary days of 1848 and 1849 he was a writer, popular orator and agitator, which got him into difficulty with the authorities, who sentenced him, but later pardoned him on condition that he emigrate to America. After landing at Baltimore in 1852 he followed the profession of a teacher and journalist. His *Herbstrosen, gesammelte Gedichte*, were published at New York in 1889; other poems appeared in the *Turner-Kalender*. The poems *Wunsch und Bitte*, *Die Arbeit*, *Neujahrswünsche*, *Ein faules Lied*, and *Zum 4. Juli*, reveal the author's attitude towards the laborer, who is pictured as being the producer of much good, but is constantly oppressed by the moneyed class. His attitude finds expression, for example, in the aphorism:

Angeerbte Millionen
Sind meist angeerbter Raub.
Weg mit dem histor'schen Rechte,

¹²⁸Cf. M. D. Learned, *German American Turner Lyric*, Baltimore, 1897.

Das die Masse macht zum Knechte
Und den Armen drückt in Staub!¹²⁹

or in *Die Prominenten*—

Wir sind umsonst nicht prominent,
Wir haben Millionen!
Wir haben das Erwerbstalent
Und wissen zu belohnen.
Wir geben stets den schönsten Ball,
Die bestbesuchten Feste,
Und leben flott beim Jubelschall
Der aufgefrischten Gäste.

* * * * *

Wir sind nun einmal prominent,
Wir ziehen hohe Renten,
Das Geld ist unser Element,
Wir fangen gold'ne Enten.
Gesetze braucht der arme Mann,
Wir können sie entbehren,
Der wahre Mensch fängt doch nur an
Bei uns—den Millionären!¹³⁰

Ernest Anton Zündt was born at Georgenberg, Suabia, in 1819, and subsequently received a university training at Munich. In 1857 he emigrated to America, where he was active as a teacher and editor of various newspapers until his death in 1900. His *Ebbe und Flut. Gesammelte Lyrische Dichtungen und Jugurtha, Trauerspiel in fünf Akten* was published at Milwaukee in 1894. Some poems also appeared in the Turner-Kalender. Zündt sternly opposed infringement upon the individual's liberty, be it in the material or spiritual concerns of life.¹³¹ He believed in the saving powers of science and combatted theological dogmas.

One of his poems which reflects industrial conditions is *Heimkehr von der Arbeit*; the day has ended and the father returns home from work:

Zur Neige geht der Tag; der Hammer ruht;
Das Feuer ist gelöscht; der Dampf verbraucht,

¹²⁹ *Amerikanischer Turner-Kalender*, 1881, p. 110.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 1891, p. 68.

¹³¹ Cf. the poems *Geistiges Turnen* in *Turner-Kalender* for 1884, and *Unentwegt* in the 1889 edition.

Und Vögel fliegen, wo der Schlot geraucht.
 Nur in der Asche glimmt noch etwas Gluth;
 Und aus der Werkstatt kommt der müde Mann;
 Er athmet auf und tritt den Heimweg an.

The remaining stanzas present an idyllic family scene and there is no tendency to become didactic, but in the poem *Brot* the attitude is different:

* * * * *
 Verstände jeder doch den Sinn von Brot;
 Nur wer es schwer verdient, weiss es zu ehren;
 Ein Heiligtum der kummervollen Not,
 Nichts Jenen, die von gold'nen Schüsseln zehren.
 Wer's nie erlebt, weil Hunger ihn gequält,
 Der kennt nicht jene schlaflos bangen Sorgen,
 In denen man die bittern Stunden zählt,
 Erschreckend vor dem hoffnungslosen Morgen.
 * * * * *

The whole poem depicts the want and misery of the needy.
 In *Mahnruf* the author hints at a coming revolution:

* * * * *
 Er muss kommen, der Tag des Gerichts,
 Der die goldenen Schalen weglegt
 Von den Tischen der Schlemmer,
 Der die Waage senkt für das Volk,
 Der nach dem luftreinigenden,
 Dem vernichtenden Wetter
 Friede, Bruderliebe, Wahrheit
 Heraufführt für *Alle*,
 Den Lohn für die Darbenden,
 Die Vernichtung den Bösen.¹²²
 * * * * *

Many Socialists believe in a coming revolution or catastrophe, and that misery is constantly increasing.

Zündt strongly favored gymnastic exercises so that the individual might champion his own inherent rights.

Wer recht im Turnen sich geübt,
 Der springt auch sonst, wo's gilt,

¹²² *Stimmen der Freiheit*, p. 667 f.

So hoch, als es die Freiheit liebt,
 Von der sein Herz erfüllt.
 Wer auf dem Turnplatz Sieger bleibt,
 Steht überall seinen Mann;
 Was Schwächlinge zum Fliehen treibt,
 Ficht keinen Turner an!

Another enthusiastic Turner and herald of freedom was Carl Heinrich Schnauffer, a native of Württemberg, who already as a student at the University of Heidelberg gained recognition as a poet. Among his acquaintances here were Hecker, Struve, and Blind. In 1848 and 1849 he took part in the unsuccessful attempt of the people to gain their liberties. He was compelled to flee, seeking a refuge in Switzerland from where he soon went to England and in company of a student friend visited the Scotch Highlands. While there he wrote his drama, *Cromwell*. About a year later he landed at Baltimore and established the *Wecker*, which was supported by the Turners and German workingmen. He was not, however, a typical representative of the labor movement of the fifties and Weitling soon found fault with his views. Schnauffer's promising literary career was cut short by his untimely death in 1854 at the age of thirty-one.¹⁸⁸

Among his poems which reflect economic conditions are *Der Weber*, in which man is represented as a weaver engaged at the weaving loom of time. *Der in London verhungernde Savoyardenknabe* vividly portrays the struggle of the poor in winning their daily bread. *Der Wanderer* represents a type of vagabond poetry; it characterizes those individuals who do not fit into the social structure. *Der Emigrant* is one of the numerous German poems reflecting the thoughts of the departing emigrant. *Mahnruf* is a call to work written for the first number of the *Wecker*. In *Der Arbeiter Messias* steam is hailed as the deliverer of mankind from grinding toil. Need and oppression is depicted in the poem, *Gedanken eines deutschen Handwerksburschen*. Schnauffer's poems reflect the social and economic conditions of the times but are not socialistic in the modern sense of the word.

¹⁸⁸ His works are *Totenkränze* (poems), 1850; *König Carl I. oder Cromwell und die englische Revolution. Trauerspiel in fünf Akten*, 1854; *Studentenbriefe und Schilderung des Flüchtlingslebens*, 1851; *Lieder und Gedichte aus dem Nachlass*, 1879.

Much more positive in his views towards the social question was Friedrich C. Castelhun, a native of Nordheim bei Worms. After completing the course in the Gymnasium at Bensheim he emigrated in 1846 to the United States, where he studied medicine at Cleveland and Ann Arbor. After completing his course at Würzburg, Vienna, and Prague he spent most of his subsequent life as a physician at St. Louis. He published a volume of poems in 1883, which had reached its fourth edition by 1902.

In the poem, *Auf einem Auswanderer-Schiffe*, the author is moved by the pitiless fate of the steerage passengers and his memory harks back to Europe:

* * * * *

Befreie den hungernden Armen
Aus nagender Erdenqual;
Vernichte ohne Erbarmen
Die Peiniger allzumal!

Sie feiern rauschende Feste,
Wie sehr auch klagende Noth;
Sie laden schwelgende Gäste,
Und Tausenden fehlt es an Brot.

Sie sind des Gesetzes Hüter
Und rauben und plündern uns auch;
Sie sichern sich Stellen und Güter,
Uns bleibt nicht Scholle noch Haus.

Wir müssen fort aus dem Lande,
Das, traun! auch uns gehört,
Für das im Schlachten Brande
Auch wir geschwungen das Schwert.

* * * * *

In *Kennt ihr das Land?*¹⁸⁴ the author prophesies that soon the storm of freedom will liberate his oppressed countrymen.

The memory of the fatherland is cherished by most German American poets; its weal and woe is a subject of concern to them. In *Auf der Nordsee* (1856) the poet laments over Germany's condition as compared with its past.

* * * * *

¹⁸⁴ Cf. the poems of like title all modeled after *Mignons Lied* by Weitting, Knortz, Jacob Smith, Bayard Taylor, Karl Peter, Heinrich Binder.

Wie anders, anders ist es jetzt!
Der Name nur noch weilt,
Das stolze Banner ist zerfetzt,
Das Vaterland getheilt.

Die Ruhmeskränze sind verdorrt,
Es blühen nur Schmach und Noth;
Die Söhne Deutschlands ziehen fort
Um Arbeit und um Brot.

Sie ziehen elend und bedrängt
Mit ihrer Hoffnung Rest,
Ins Zwischendeck hinabgezwängt,
Den Blick gewandt nach West!

Castelhun's sympathy flows out to the man whose lot it is to spend all his time in manual labor to eke out an existence. For instance, in *Ein Proletar* he asks:

Von Hand zu Mund, von Hand zu Mund!
Was ist das für ein Leben!
Dass auf dem Tisch das Brot nicht fehlt,
Sein ganzes, ganzes Streben:
Was unsrem Dasein Wert verleiht,
Für ihn ist's nicht vorhanden;
Was uns die Erde Schönes beut,
Für ihn ist's nicht entstanden.¹⁸⁵

* * * * *

In *Die Arbeiter* the workers are encouraged to struggle as a class, for the privileged classes have never been in the habit of voluntarily sacrificing their privileges. This didactic attitude is also maintained in the short poems, *Recht und Pflicht zur Arbeit* and *Den Arbeitern*. The principle of the right to demand work is brought up in the distich *Arbeiter und Drohnen*:

Bescheiden ist, was sie verlangen,
Das Recht zur Arbeit, meinst du nicht?
Doch wer stets müssig ist gegangen,
Der scheut und hasst die Arbeitspflicht.¹⁸⁶

Castelhun does not admire the reformers that dismiss with disdain the questions of the material welfare of life. He does not be-

¹⁸⁵ *Stimmen der Freiheit*, p. 691.

¹⁸⁶ *Turner-Kalender*, 1891, p. 113.

lieve that bigotry and revealed religion are alone primarily responsible for the prevailing lack of social adjustment as the *Pfaffen der Vernunft*,

Die mit Pathos deklamieren, Alles wäre wohlbestellt,
Wenn der alte Bibelglaube nicht mehr herrschte auf der
Welt.

Dass auch dann das Elend stöhnte, das bekümmert sie nicht
sehr.

* * * * *
Priester, Prediger und Sprecher, Pfaffen seid ihr alle
samt!

Although the freethinkers and the socialistically inclined stand, generally, for the same principles, the former emphasize the liberation of the mind, and the latter the liberation of the individual from economic wants.

Another prominent Turner who exhibits a socialistic tendency in his poems is Jakob Heintz, a cabinet maker and furniture dealer of New York, who came to America in 1848. A volume of his poems was published at New York in 1888. Other poems were published in the *Turner-Kalender*, among them *An's Werk* (1885), which contains the stanza:

So lang noch Gold der König ist,
Der Wucher sein Minister,
So lang noch übt die falsche List
Der frömmelnde Philister,
So lang man dient der Corruption,
Dem Schwindel, dem enormen,
So lange sucht den schönsten Lohn
Im Kampfe für Reformen!

Like a true Turner, Heintz attacks priestcraft and the usurer, and, in short, all elements of society that tend to hamper the free and happy existence of the individual.

Heintz thinks that woman belongs in the home, for in *Zur Frauenfrage* he says:

Ein sittsam Weib, sie ist des Hauses Segen,
Die Kinderschaar erzieht sie mit Geschick
Und Mutterpflicht führt sie auf rechten Wegen

Zu gründen fest sich ein Familienglück.
Im trauten Heim,—Beschützerin der Liebe,
Da herrsche sie!—nicht im Vereinsgetriebe.¹²⁷

Like Heintz, Max Hempel, who came to America in 1880 strove with word and pen to right the lack of adjustment in our social structure. He followed the profession of teaching in St. Louis and Omaha. Later he studied medicine at Washington University and was graduated in 1901. From 1893 the time of his death in 1906 he was also speaker of the Independent Congregation of North St. Louis, which position gave him a good opportunity to express his monistic view of the universe and other liberal religious ideas. His religious views are shown in such poems as *Verschiedener Glaube*, *Warum ich nicht glaube an Gott*, *Dreiheit und Zweiheit*, *Der Zweifel*, and others. A volume of Turner songs, *Turnerleben*, appeared in 1883 and his *Gedichte* were published at St. Louis in 1909.

The gulf existing between the rich and the poor, the misery of the one and the extravagance of the other is emphasized in such poems as *Sie müssen betteln, wenn sie hungrig sind*. A poverty-stricken father in his humble and unsanitary quarters, at the verge of death, feels resentful towards his wealthy employer and exclaims:

Euch faulen Reichen kommt das Glück im Schlafe,
Wollüstig wühlet ihr im Ueberfluss,
Indes der arme Arbeitsmann, der Sklave,
Mit Weib und Kindern darben muss.
O nennt ihr das ein glücklich Menschenleben,
Das nie entrinnet schwerer Arbeit Frohn,
Und das sich stückweis' muss an Den vergeben,
Der es erkaufte um einen kargen Lohn!¹²⁸

The modern factory system is reflected in *Zeitbild*:

Die Schlote rauchen, die Metalle kochen,
Der Räder Sausen und der Hämmer Pochen
Erschüttert bang des Baues leichte Wände.
Heiss, wie die immer frischgeschürten Brände
Der hohen Oefen, wallt die Luft im Saale;
Durch blinde Scheiben schleicht das Licht, das fahle.

¹²⁷ *Turner-Kalender*, 1898, p. 78 f.

¹²⁸ *Stimmen der Freiheit*, p. 449 ff.

Die Lungen stöhnen und die Muskeln schwellen,
 Von russgeschwärtzten Männerstirnen quellen
 Des Schweisses Perlen.

Contrasted to this scene is the home of the factory owner:

Drüben in dem reichen,
 Kostbar geschmückten Hause sitzt im weichen
 Lehnssessel der Fabrikherr, und er lächelt heiter,
 Denn auf des Reichtums steiler Stufenleiter
 Hat er die höchste Sprosse bald erklommen.
 Er murmelt: "Auf die höchste muss ich kommen,
 Es geht zu langsam noch! Wer Millionen
 Gewinnen will, darf keine Andern schonen.
 Die Preise höher! Nied'ren Lohn den Leuten!"¹³⁹

The poem continues picturing the strained relations existing between capital and labor and how the Genius of mankind hovers above it all and sees the old system finally collapse. In *Das neue Maïenlied* Hempel likewise stresses the plight of the needy.

Quite different in his attitude is Karl Kniep of Newark when in *Arbeiters Liebchen* he sings:

Will Morgens ich zur Arbeit geh'n,
 Muss erst ich Liebchens Antlitz seh'n,
 An ihrem Haus zieht's mich vorbei,
 Das sicher mir ihr Anblick sei.

Und wenn mein Arm den Hammer schwingt,
 In's Ohr mir Liebchens Stimme dringt,
 Und aus der Esse Feuergluth
 Lacht mir ihr Bildniss lieb und gut.¹⁴⁰

* * * * *

Similarly in another poem, *Die Arbeit ruft*, where the workingman does not forget his sweetheart from whose presence the factory whistle has hurriedly called him:

Will ein Nest Dir bauen,
 Darf nicht müßig schauen,
 Hand und Kopf soll zielbewusst
 Vorwärts streben voller Lust.
 Dampfwerk stampft und dröhnet,

¹³⁹ *Stimmen der Freiheit*, p. 451.

¹⁴⁰ *Durch Sturm und Sonnenschein in vierzig Jahren. Gedichte.* New York and Newark, 1906, p. 40.

Doch im Innern tönet,
Denkend Dein hinfort,
Von der Lieb' manch Wort,
Und im Geist mein Aug' erschaut
Stets die holde, liebe Braut.¹⁴¹

Kniep expresses the opinion that modern technics and machines do not crush man's better qualities, and that steam and electricity serve only the rich, but he adds that financial power is frequently misused so that the struggling masses do not get their just dues of the abundance and splendor of modern life.

Kniep's idea of art is that it must serve the times and elevate mankind. In *Mahnung* he maintains:

Der Künstler, er schwebt nicht am Himmelszelt,
Ein Anrecht hat auch an ihn die Welt,
Und will die Kunst in der Welt gedeihen,
So muss sie sich freundig der Menschheit weihen.
Die neue Zeit braucht neues Lied,
Ein Lied voll Kampfeslust,
Das Jeden mächtig vorwärts zieht;
Des werdet Euch bewusst!
Und wenn Ihr nicht begreift die Zeit,
Wie soll sie Euch versteh'n?
Dann wird mit andrer Herrlichkeit
Auch Eure Kunst vergeh'n.¹⁴²

Among the collections of poems that have come to the writer's notice is J. A. Kunkel's *Gedichte* (New York, 1856), which relate chiefly to the political struggles going on in Germany during the forties and fifties. The themes treated are similar to those already discussed. The following stanzas quoted from longer poems will serve as illustrations:

Die Bettlerin (1852).
Sieh die Arme, deren Haupt
Gram und Hunger früh gebleicht,
Wie sie wankend dort am Stab
Um des Reichen Wohnung schleicht.

Der Proletarier, 1847—Ein Bild aus Deutschland.
Langsam wankt durch die Strassen

¹⁴¹ Ibid., p. 41 and p. 108.

¹⁴² For complete title see the bibliography.

Keuchend unter schwerer Last
 Dort ein armer Proletarier
 Der nicht einmal Zeit zur Rast.

Auswanderer (1852).

Was zieh'n die Menschen so schweigend fürbass,
 Die Blicke so düster, das Auge so nass,
 Die Häupter gesenkt zur Erde?
 Sie führen auf Wagen in dürftigem Schrein
 Nur wenige Habe und Kinder so klein,
 Sie scheiden vom heimischen Heerde.

* * * * *

Und wenn sie die Küste des Landes dann seh'n
 Wo einzig die Banner der Freiheit noch weh'n,
 Dann fühlen die Brust sie gehoben;
 Sie fühlen vom Druck des Tyrannen sich frei,
 Sie fühlen die Würde des Menschen aufs neu',
 Und blicken, Gott dankend, nach oben.

The titles of some of the other poems in this collection will suffice to indicate their character—*Freiheit und Gleichheit* (1848), *Robert Blum* (Dec. 1848), *Proletarier und Arbeiter* (1853), *Der Reiche* (1852), *Der Arbeiter*.

Carl Reuber, a poetically inclined workingman of Pittsburgh, collected and published a small volume of socialistic verse (Pittsburgh, 1872), under the title of *Gedanken über die neue Zeit*. It contains poems originally appearing in *Die Zukunft* (Indianapolis), *Pittsburgh Volksblatt*, and *Pittsburgh Freiheitsfreund*. They are of little merit and their value consists in giving a picture of contemporaneous conditions of society.

Two other small volumes of poems relating to the labor question are Franz Schlegl's *Feier Stunden, Gedichte fürs arbeitende Volk*, and *Sturmglöcken. Sonette* (Philadelphia, 1880) by Lina Mater (pseud. A. Lamartine). Alex. Henninger published *Arbeit und Fortschritt. Ein Gedicht über soziale Reform* at San Francisco in 1870. The fourth edition of Theodore Bracklow's *Die Erscheinung, Episches Zeitgedicht* appeared at New York in 1854. Dr. E. J. Löwenthal's tragedy, *Robert Blum*, was put out in the same city in 1886.

Quite a number of occasional poems have been printed for special gatherings or meetings in labor circles; these appeared on

programs, posters, calendars, and in periodicals. An examination of the files of Socialist newspapers of recent times reveals many reprints taken from German collections of socialistic verse, such as *Strodtmanns Arbeiterdichtung in Frankreich; Vorwärts! Eine Sammlung von Gedichten für das arbeitende Volk*; and *Stimmen der Freiheit*.¹⁴² Besides other poems often by obscure or nameless authors occur constantly. To illustrate: there appeared in the *Volksstimme des Westens* (St. Louis), from September 1, 1877, to May 26, 1878 poems by Hugo Schlag, Eduard Bertz, R. Sauer, Brachvogel, Fr. von Sallet, Minna Kleeberg, Wighart Karl, Ludwig Kalisch, Johann Ziegler, Karl Schramm, J. A. Mayer, Paul Lossau, A. Otto-Walster, Adolf Strodtmann, Hüls, Fr. Rückert, Herwegh, Prutz, Jakob Audorf. Poems from exchanges are reprinted occasionally. The St. Louis *Tageblatt* during May, 1888, contained poems by Hieronimus Lorm, Franz Keim, Wilhelm Wiesberg, Otto Wolf, and Freiligrath. In the *Arbeiter Zeitung* (St. Louis) from August, 1898, to September, 1900, appeared poems by Hedwig Vogel, Jakob Audorf, H. E. Lange, Adolf Glassbrenner, Emilie Hoffman, Fr. Bodenstein, Max Kegel, Herman Glauch, Joseph Schiller, Andreas Scheu, Leopold Jacoby, Bertha Schrottenloher, Robert Seidel, Ada Negri, A. F. Sterger, Hr. Binder, Wm. Benignus, Anzengruber, Hr. Bartel, and Georg Herwegh who of all is reprinted most frequently. Practically all of the poetry is of a distinctly socialistic character. Mrs. Mathilde Sorge, for instance, addresses *Das schlafende Proletariat*:

Wacht auf! Nicht ist zum Schlafen Zeit.
Arbeiter wacht! Zieht in den Streit.
Für Freiheit, euer menschlich Recht!
Arbeiter, seid ein frei' Geschlecht!

Frei sei, was trägt ein menschlich Herz!
Frei sei, wer fühlt der Armuth Schmerz!
Wärs auch zum Tod—
Kämpft für die Fahne roth!

Another favorite type of poem is *Die Diebe*, Heinesque in character:

Da war einmal ein kleiner Dieb,
Der stahl ein Brot dem Kind zu lieb,

Und wurde schier gefangen
 Und konnte erst in Jahr und Stund,
 Trotz sein und seines Weibes Mund
 Die Freiheit wieder erlangen.

Dem Andern war's Glück auch nicht hold,
 Stahl einen filznen Sack mit Gold
 Durch Einbruch, still und nächtens;
 Und eh' noch ein halb Jahr verging,
 Er am Gevatter Dreibein hing
 Und das von wegen Rechtens.

Der Dritte war ein grosser Dieb,
 Der stahl sich ganz allein zu lieb
 Des Volkes Geld und Rechte.
 Die Countyväter obendrein,
 Die thäten ein willig Ohr ihm leihn,
 Und dienten ihm wie Knechte.

Nun weiss ich doch wahrhaftig nicht,
 Wie solch ein dummes Ding geschieht,
 Und müsste doch vermeinen,
 Dass wenn euch Gott das Urtheil lenkt,
 Der dritte Dieb viel höher hängt,
 Als wie die beiden Kleinen.¹⁴³

Among the more modern German American writers who show a decided social conscience is Eduard Dorsch, a native of Würzburg, who was driven over the ocean by the political storms of 1848.

Ich will dir auch sagen, was mich vertrieb;
 Ich hatte die Heimath so lieb, so lieb,
 Und wollte sie glücklich sehen;
 Ich habe geschrieben manch ernstes Wort,
 Ich sprach: "Jagt eure Drohnen fort!"
 Da war es um mich geschehen.¹⁴⁴

He had studied medicine at Munich and Vienna where he spent the life of a typical German student. Many of these experiences are reflected in *Aus müssigen Stunden eines Münchener Studenten* (1844). After his arrival he became a newspaper correspondent in New York but finally settled down to practice medicine at Monroe, Michigan. At various times he contributed to the *Europa, Grenz-*

¹⁴³ *Volksstimme des Westens*, Sept. 3, 1877.

¹⁴⁴ *Gedichte*, p. 53.

boten, and Brockhaus *Literaturblatt*, and the Sunday edition of the *Illinois Staatszeitung*. He was especially conspicuous for his ardent championing of radical free thought. Moreover, he took an active part in the presidential campaigns of 1856 and 1860.

His poems, *Aus der Alten und Neuen Welt*, were published at New York in 1884. They reflect the author's conception of the political and economic conditions of the times. Some of them are genuine lyrics and the variety of poetical forms employed is worthy of note.

Already as a student he sympathized with the nameless poor. As he sees the candle light flickering near the deathbed of the poor he whispers:

Leise, leise meine Lieder! lasst ihn still von hinnen gehn.
Lasst ihn sterben, wie er lebte, einsam, arm und unbekannt,
Dass vor Hunger er gestorben, Christenliebe wird's genannt;¹⁴⁵

A vivid presentation of the contrast between the predatory rich and the suffering poor is made in the *Ghasele I*:

Der Reiche trinkt aus goldenen Geschirren
Den strafenden Gewissensbiss zu kirren;
Der Arme trinkt aus irdenem Gefässe
Die eignen Thränen, bitt'rer noch als Myrrhen.
Der Reiche lauscht in strahlenden Gemächern
Auf seiner Courtisanen süßes Girren,
Der Arme ringt auf hartem Kerkerlager
Umsonst nach Schlaf bei lautem Kettenklirren.¹⁴⁵
* * * * *

In *Im Urwald* the poet has escaped the strict European censor, and there he need not help to feed the drones of Old World society. In the primeval forest the man of the world can find a quiet refuge from shallow, showy society.

The poem, *Zwei Liebende*, gives an account of the tragic death of two lovers driven by force of circumstances to end their own lives.

Dorsch's satire reaches its climax in his *Parabasen* published at Milwaukee in 1875 which are most caustic in their criticism of modern society. The underlying charge is that priestcraft comes

¹⁴⁵ *Gedichte*, pp. 15 and 27.

very near being the root of all evil. In each of the twelve parts of the poem the poet takes a thrust at some evil of society. For example, a farmer spending an idyllic existence next to nature moves to the city where he and his family are exposed to poverty, disease, and crime and finally all succumb. A frivolous society woman whose lack of personal beauty is atoned for by the skillful use of drug store preparations succeeds in cajoling a man into marriage.

Wie kann der hohle, reiche Tropf, auf den sie's abgesehen,
Den Reizen, ächt theils, theils geborgt, noch länger widerstehen.

She spends her husband's money at Paris and Newport but fails to do her social duty of rearing children. Part four harks back to German conditions when the poor peasant was forced to leave on account of excessive taxes. The conflict of science and religion looms forth vividly time and time again. He satirizes the relic hunter and antiquarians in general. After he dreamed that he beheld flawless Grecian models of men and women in heaven, he longs for the realistic; even a wart or a red nose would relieve the strain. The machine has increased the production of manufactured articles but poverty goes hand in hand with the factory system. The growth of cities has bred poverty, crime, and disease, and as in Aristophanes' times the executors of the law are not doing their duty. "Bürger-tugend" is lacking and money reigns supreme. The whole book is a rather vigorous indictment of the present system, and invariably the author comes back to his thesis that the Christian church has failed to perform its mission.

Of a different temperament was the humorist, Otto Brethauer (1832-1882), who was like Dorsch also a native of Bavaria. After the Revolution he fled to New York where he struggled with poverty as a newspaper correspondent and editor. With Max Cohnheim in 1858 he established the *Newyorker Humorist*, a veritable thesaurus of wit and humor, which, however, was soon discontinued. Brethauer's writings are characterized primarily by a touch of genuine humor, as is shown in the little volume, *Ernstes und Launiges. Lieder und Zeitgedichte, Satyren und Epigramme* published at New York in 1880. Some of the author's own experiences were, prob-

ably, related to those suggested in the poem *Weihnachten* (p. 34) or in *Sylvesternacht* (p. 35). The contrast of rich and poor is brought out in the latter:

Da liegt mein Kind an welker Brust,
Ich kann es kaum erwärmen —
O Gott, wann wird zu Ende sein
Dies Leiden und dies Haermen?
Mein Aelt'ster kauert in der Eck'
Und nagt an einer Kruste,
Die, barfuss wankend durch den Schnee,
Er sich zu holen wusste.

Er fragt mich, was denn die Musik
Im Ballsaal dort bedeute;
Es ist Sylvesternacht—o Gott,
Mir klingt's wie Grabgeläute.

In 1878 on the occasion of a strike he wrote *Zwanzigtausend Dollars Salair*,¹⁴⁶ a jibe at the statement that a family of six can live on a dollar a day:

Als Beecher vernahm, der Ehrenmann,
Vom blutigen "Strike" die Mähr',
Da stieg er auf die Kanzel und sprach
Von Löhnen und Salair.

"Ein Dollar per Tag für die Deinen und Dich
Genügt—was willst Du noch mehr?
Ihr seht doch, dass ich zufrieden bin—
Bei Zwanzigtausend Salair.

* * * * *

Das Glück des Genusses, dummes Volk,
Es ist nur imaginär.
Entsagung gewährt das wahre Glück—
Bei Zwanzigtausend Salair.

The break in thought at the end of the third line and the repetition of the fourth line is quite humorous but nevertheless telling.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁶ *Ernstes und Launiges*, p. 55 ff.

¹⁴⁷ An interesting and humorous "Kulturbild" is presented in C. H. Schmolze's travesty on Goethe's *Faust*, in which appear besides Faust and his Famulus, a "Krämergeist" and the German Michel. In staging it F. Moras, who took the part of the Krämergeist, was dressed to represent a huge money-bag; even his feet represented money-bags.—Cf. *Kneipzeitung der Namenlosen*, a Ms., also *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Pionier-Vereins von Philadelphia*, 1907, Drittes Heft.

Numerous other poems that reflect the social conscience of their authors have come to the writer's notice. Almost invariably the ruthless transplanting from the German to the American soil gave rise to this point of view which was usually also intensified by the subsequent struggle for a livelihood. Such poems are *Auswanderers Schicksal* by Julius Dresel (1816-91), *Fabrikarbeiter* by F. O. Dresel (1824-81), *Ein Künstlerlos* by Paul Carus (1852—), and *Ein gefallenes Mädchen* and *Der Landstreicher* by Konrad Krez (1828-1897). Karl Schramm and J. H. Wiedemann wrote considerable socialistic verse for contemporaneous newspapers.

The journalist, Heinrich Binder, has not forgotten the stormy days of 1848 in his *Liederklänge aus vier Jahrzehnten* (1895). He resents also the accusation that America is an unpoetical country in the poem, *Amerikanische Poesie*, for he says:

Die (poetry) spricht aus dem Maschinenrad,
Aus jeder Esse Gluth,
Aus jedem Kessel, der da sprüht
Auf sturmbewegter Fluth.¹⁴⁸

Boldly he accuses the magnate who forgets the human element concerned in business:

Fruchtlos ist der Heloten Ringen:
Der "Trust" bleibt Herr! Vergeblich dringen
Auf Schutz sie bei dem Gouverneur;
Ob, dass man ihrer nicht vergesse,
Für sie auch nimmt Partei die Presse,
Die Armen finden nicht Gehör.¹⁴⁸

Drei Epochen, Kennst du den Mann? and *Ein gutgemeint Weihnachtslied* treat similar questions.¹⁴⁸

The materialistic philosophy popularized by the Hegelians and especially by Ludwig Büchner's *Kraft und Stoff* among Germans in America is reflected in Emil Dietzsch's *Kraft und Stoff* (1884), a volume of poetry, sketching with bold sweeps of the pen various episodes in the political and economic history of the Germanic race from primitive times to the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of Chicago in 1883—all within the confines of 196 pages. To Dietzsch

¹⁴⁸ *Liederklänge*, pp. 24, 77, 80, 88, and 94.

America is the land of freedom where the labors of the poor are frequently royally rewarded.¹⁴⁹

Karl Peter, W. O. Soubron, and Edmund Märklin incline to the socialistic interpretation of modern society. The collected works of Peter who was a decided radical were published at Milwaukee in 1887. Soubron who lives at Milwaukee exhibits similar tendencies. Some of his ideas concerning a more harmonious adjustment of modern society are revealed in the poem, *Das neue Lied*.¹⁵⁰ Märklin was personally acquainted with Uhland, Schwab, Mörike, and other Suabian poets. After the Revolutions of 1848 and 1849 he fled to Switzerland where he met Herwegh and the Socialist Moritz Hess. Subsequently he was confined eighteen months in prison at the Hohenasperg where Wilhelm Rapp was also incarcerated at that time. In 1852 he arrived in America where later at Milwaukee together with Heinrich Loose he published a radical and a labor paper. A second edition of his poems, *Im Strome der Zeit*, appeared at Milwaukee in 1886.

Among the temporary residents who disseminated German socialistic ideas in America were Leopold Jacoby, Julius Fröbel, Maurice Reinhold von Stern, A. C. Wiesner, Hedwig-Wilhelmi; and others. Jacoby (1840-95), an author, traveller, scientist, and philosopher, lived in America during the early eighties. He was an ardent advocate of socialist principles, for he believed:

Alle Menschen sind erhoben,
Und sie werden alle gleich
Nicht nach unten; nein, nach oben
In dem neuen Weltenreich.¹⁵¹

One of his most popular works was the collection of verse, *Es werde Licht* which had already reached its fourth edition in 1893. March 19, 1883 he was present at the celebration in Cooper Institute, New York, given in honor of Karl Marx who had died five days before. For this occasion he wrote a poem eulogizing

¹⁴⁹Dietzsch, *Kraft und Stoff*, p. 167.

¹⁵⁰*Stimmen der Freiheit*, p. 167. Cf. also *Deutsch-Athen* (verse a la Heine) in *Turner-Kalender*, 1896, p. 60 ff., and *Der Farmerbursch* in *Turner-Kalender*, 1890, p. 42 f.

¹⁵¹*Stimmen der Freiheit*, p. 153.

the father of modern Socialism.¹⁵² Fröbel (1805-93), a nephew of the great educator of like name, was connected with various publishing ventures in Germany espousing the liberal cause until he and Robert Blum were condemned to die in 1848, but the former was pardoned. From 1849 to 1855 he was in America connected with a soap factory, trade expeditions and newspapers. In his *System der sozialen Politik* (1847) he tried to put Socialism on a scientific basis, however later experiences estranged him from Socialism.¹⁵³ A. C. Wiesner (1824-), an Austrian army officer, became too free in expressing his views in 1848 and had to flee. He spent part of his time travelling over the United States but returned to Europe. His *Psalmen eines Verbannten* (1849) were quite popular among his countrymen of similar sympathies in this country.

Maurice Reinhold von Stern who formerly exhibited a decided socialistic strain spent five years (1880-85) in and around New York where he worked for some time as a dock laborer, clerk, miner, and iron-mill worker. Later he became a newspaper reporter and founded the New Jersey *Arbeiter Zeitung*. Upon his return to Europe in 1885 he published *Proletarier Lieder, Gesammelte Dichtungen, dem arbeitenden Volke gewidmet*. Among his other numerous works is *Von jenseits des Meeres, Amerikanische Skizzen* (Glarus, 1890). Modern conditions are reflected in such poems as *Nähmadel*:

Ich bin 'ne kleine Nähmamsell
Und morgens muss ich ins Geschäft,
Oft schon, wenn kaum am Himmel hell
Der Tag die Lichtgardinen refft.

Dann steh' ich vor den Spiegel hin
Und kämm, und bind' mein blondes Haar,
Und denk' dabei in meinem Sinn,
Wie sonnenarm ich immer war.¹⁵⁴

Josef Schiller of Reichenberg was active for twenty-seven years as a labor agitator in Austria spreading broadcast his thoughts and

¹⁵² *Stimmen der Freiheit*, p. 148.

¹⁵³ The noted political economist, Friedrich List (1789-1846), was in America from 1825 to 1830 and later returned for another stay. Many of his theories are realized in the Germany of to-day.

¹⁵⁴ *Lieder aus dem Zauberthal*, Leipzig, 1905, p. 41.

sentiments with word and pen, in prose and poetry, until an enraged censorship in 1896 drove him to America where he died the next year in abject poverty at Germania, Pennsylvania. He corresponded with Robert Reitzel, and contributed to the Cleveland *Volksanwalt*, Buffalo *Arbeiterzeitung*, and other papers.¹⁵⁵

Among the women who have disseminated liberal ideas in America are Hedwig Henrich-Wilhelmi, Johanna Greie, Emma Goldman, and Mrs. Neymann and Aveling.

In a certain sense Konrad Nies who was born at Alzey in Rheinhessen in 1862 may be said to represent in his *Funken* (1891) the transition to a more modern German American poetry. Amalia von Ende calls him "a link between the Old and the New, a man of firm adherence to established aesthetic creeds, but by no means insensible to the voice of the *Zeitgeist*" and the foremost poet of German America to-day.¹⁵⁶ Nies is a poet, actor, teacher, journalist, and traveller who came to America in 1883. In his poems, *Funken*, he gives expression to the usual themes of home-sickness and the plight of the German poet in America, but also he portrays the ruthless sweep of the modern industrial machine over the romance of the past.

The poems, *Heute* and *Auf der Fahrt*, and the sonnet, *Im Bann der Enge*, portray vividly the changes that modern life has wrought. The last division of *Funken*, entitled *Frührot*, is prefaced with a motto from Karl Bleibtreu: "Die Ahnung einer neuen Zeit durchzuckt den Schoss des Alls." Nies calls on the idle romantic dreamer and the anachronistic conservatist to awaken from the past and to realize the new social duties incident to modern progress that devolve upon them. The social conscience of the poet has been awakened. Mindful of the misery of the masses he has the wind say:

Füll' mit deinem Wein den Becher frisch!
 Speis und Trank beut täglich dir dein Tisch.
 Brotlos aber hungern, darben, schmachten
 Tausend, Tausend in des Elends Schachten—
 Nur der Abfall von der Uebersatten

¹⁵⁵ *Stimmen der Freiheit*, p. 107 ff. and p. 416 for a poem on Schiller by Henrich Bartel.

¹⁵⁶ *Poet Lore*, Autumn number, 1906, p. 113. Cf. also *Das literarische Echo*, May 15, 1899, I, 997-1003.

Uepp'gem Mahl,
 Nähm' von tausend Siechen, Hungersmatten
 Bittre Qual.¹⁸⁷

His heart goes out to the ostracized of society as is shown in the sonnet, *Ein Begräbnis*:

* * * * *

Und Keiner weiss, dass hier ein Herz begraben,
 Das einst an hohen Idealen reich,
 Dem Schönen schlug unendlich liebeweich,

Bevor die Welt ihm seinen Gott verdarb
 Und es am Wege schuldzerdrückt erstarb.—
 Die Blätter fallen, und es schrei'n die Raben.—¹⁸⁷

In his latest volume of poems, *Aus westlichen Weiten* (1905) Nies sings, for the most part, of his travels in search for health, although in *Frau Illusion* he approaches again the milieu of metropolitan life. On the whole Nies' poems avoid the prosaically didactic.

This element stands out clearly again in many of the poems written by Heinrich C. Lange who was born at Hausberge on the Weser in 1842. He emigrated in 1868 and settled at St. Louis. His poems, *Feld- und Wiesenblumen* appear at St. Louis in three volumes, the first and second in 1898 and the third in 1902. The greater part of them do not pertain to the social and economic questions of the day. Socialistic are: *Der Handwerker in der Neuzeit*, *Was wollen sie? Eine verzweifelte That*, *Die oberen Zehntausend*, *Zukunft und Gegenwart*, *Der Strassenbahn-Ausstand*, *Wetterleuchten*, *Den Sozialisten*, *Den Ruhebedürftigen*, and *Armut und Reichtum*. They pertain to such themes as the industrial revolution, the despair of the unemployed, the extravagance of the predatory rich, strikes, the intellectual proletariat, the unfair distribution of the world's goods, contrast between rich and poor, and the like. As a cigar maker at Leipzig Lange had already become well acquainted with the teachings of Liebknecht and Lassalle.

When F. W. Fritzsche's *Blut-rosen, sozial-politische Gedichte* (2nd ed.) were published at Baltimore in 1890 Robert Reitzel said

¹⁸⁷ *Funken*, pp. 181 and 137.

of the author: "Der Sohn der Armut, Schüler der Armenschule, Zigarrenmacher, Freidenker und Sozialist, Reichstagsabgeordnete und Exilarte weiss ganz gut in Tönen zu denken."¹⁵⁸ This in brief characterizes Fritzsche who was born in Leipzig in 1825, lived through the storms of 1848 and 1849, organized the laborers and later represented them in the Reichstag. In 1881 he and Louis Viereck came to the United States at the behest of the German Social Democratic Party. Subsequently he emigrated to Philadelphia with his family and for many years contributed to the *Tageblatt*. He died in Philadelphia February 5, 1905.¹⁵⁹

Of special merit in the *Blut-Rosen* are *Das Grab am Birkenbaum*, *Ein Traum*, and *Mein Vaterland*. In the last named poem he says:

Jetzt trennt ein Meer mich von der Heimath Boden,
Doch wehret mir das Meer, die Ferne nicht,
Zu folgen dem, was Sehnsucht mir geboten:
"Du darfst es nicht, ob auch das Herz dir bricht!"
So sprach der Bann, der mir die Heimath raubte,
Mich mitleidsbar in's Elend stiess,
Weil ich an Bruderlieb' und Gleichheit glaubte,
Den Kampf um Gleichheit, Recht und Freiheit pries.¹⁶⁰

Heinrich von Ende, a journalist, musician, and idealist was born at Bremen in 1847. At the time of the Commune (1871) he was in Paris and became thoroughly imbued with communistic ideas which fact led to a break with his highly aristocratic family, and in the next year he left for America. He was secretary to Ludwig Büchner on the latter's lecture tour in this country. He was an active free thinker and Socialist writing articles for the *Freidenker* and *Sozialist* of Milwaukee, and later he became editor of the Ohio *Volkszeitung*, a Socialist paper. He published *Gedichte* (1870), *Des Königs Freund* (1875), and *Mississippi und Rhein* (1876), a poem. His wife Amalia assisted him in his newspaper work. She has published *Vier Lieder* (1899), *Sonnets of the City and other Poems* (1903), and many articles in periodicals, notably those in

¹⁵⁸ *Der arme Teufel*, May 3, 1890.

¹⁵⁹ Cf. Chapter I of this treatise; *Waltershausen*, p. 168 ff., and the introduction to *Blut-Rosen*.

¹⁶⁰ *Blut-Rosen*, p. 7.

the New York *Nation* and *Das literarische Echo*. The poem *Grossstadt* published in Neeff's collection¹⁶¹ illustrates modern metropolitan life.

Quite a number of lesser lights have shown a tendency to reflect economic conditions of society. Among them is Hugo Schlag (1838-86) who arrived in 1868. He was a compositor by trade who worked in different cities until his death at New York. Besides contributing poems to the newspapers he wrote the tragedy *Thomas Münzer*. Paul Loebel a talented and idealistic actor who played in Chicago and other cities during the seventies and eighties, and later became a journalist published a volume of poems in 1879 at Chicago. In the parody on the *Harfners Lied* he bewails the fate of the German actor in America.¹⁶² He finally committed suicide.¹⁶³ Heinrich Bartel, the present editor of the Milwaukee *Vorwärts* has contributed many poems to German Socialist papers. A collection of sixteen which are essentially protests against certain defects of social adjustments were published in *Stimmen der Freiheit*. In the style of the folk-song is the one on page 417:

Ich bin ein freier Sängersmann,
Hab weder Gut noch Geld,
Mein Reichtum ist mein freier Sinn,
So zieh ich durch die Welt.

Und wo ich freie Menschen seh,
Da halt ich kurze Rast,
Denn wo die Freiheit Wirtin ist,
Dort bin ich gerne Gast.

* * * * *

So zieh ich singend durch die Welt
Und rufe auf zum Streit,
Ich will der Freiheit Lanzknecht sein,
Ein Sohn der neuen Zeit.

Hermann O. Dreisel (1869-1903), a native of Reichenbach, Saxony, came to America in 1884 where he spent the next twelve years struggling for a livelihood as a factory worker and miner.

¹⁶¹ *Vom Lande des Sternenbanners*, p. 40 f.

¹⁶² *Gedichte*, p. 15.

¹⁶³ Quite a number of idealistic German American journalists either met death at their own hands or became mentally unbalanced.

Later he became a teacher at Milwaukee and Chicago. Both he and his wife met an untimely death in the Iroquois Theater fire in 1903. His *Gesammelte Schriften* consisting of prose and poetry were published at Milwaukee by his friends in 1905. Dreisel defends the rights of the dispossessed masses, and is prone to portray their squalor. Karl Reuter Kerger wrote socialistic verse for the *Turner-Kalender* and *Der arme Teufel*. John Most and Julius Vahlteich have published collections of stirring songs for the laborers; while numerous obscure poets have written new words to old popular melodies.

Among the most recent versifiers are F. G. Bufe, Friedrich Michel, Julius Zorn, Emilie Hofmann, and Anna Nill. Bufe, a cigar-maker by trade, was born at Wechselburg, Saxony, and emigrated to America in 1884. A small volume of his poems, *Licht und Schatten, Diverse Gedichte* was published at Moline, Illinois, in 1906. In simple rhymes he treats of the customary themes of the social reformer. Typical is the poem *Gegensätze des Lebens* in which the equipage of a Mr. Goldman is contrasted with the busy life of a widow and children who work long hours in a factory.¹⁰⁴ Michel, a native of Alsace, immigrated in 1881 and established a ladies' hat business which he still superintends. His *Asraklänge, und andere Gedichte* (Strassburg, 1906) treat among other subjects, modern inventions, the social question, and the duties of woman. Zorn was born at Pforzheim, Baden, in 1852, and came to America in 1874. He lives at Cincinnati, and is quite active in the Arbeiter Sängerbund. Some of his verses appeared in *Stimmen der Freiheit*. William Benignus, Paul Wienand, F. H. Lohmann, and Hugo Bertsch have shown considerable interest in social problems. Emilie Hofmann was born at Liebenau in 1844 and emigrated to America about 1872. Her poems which betray but meager poetic talent appeared in various Socialist newspapers, notably those of St. Louis. Anna Nill who is a zealous champion of the proletarian cause hails from Württemberg and lives now on Long Island. She writes: "Was ich bis jetzt geschrieben, hat der Wind in die weite Welt getragen, und hat auch einiges Wurzel gefasst zum Wohle der

¹⁰⁴ *Stimmen der Freiheit*, p. 462.

Menschheit, und meiner Zufriedenheit. * * * Eigene Bücher liess ich nie drucken, habe ich etwas auf dem Herzen, so drucken's die Zeitungen gerne."¹⁰⁵

Hermann Glauch, a printer by trade, was born at Döbeln, Saxony, in 1855, came to Cincinnati in 1872, and soon thereafter went to San Francisco. His poems appeared in the German papers of Cincinnati and San Francisco. His *Gedichte* were published at Oakland, California, in 1897. In the preface to this book he reveals his state of mind: "Während ihm (the poet) heute das Herz aufgeht in Lust und Freude beim Anblick der Wunder der Natur, im stillen Frieden des Heimes beim Glücke seiner Umgebung, sieht er morgen das krasse Elend, die bitterste Noth, hört den Jammerruf der Unglücklichen und Unterdrückten—" This statement characterizes this collection of poems. Such poems as *Auswanderung*, *Ein Landstreicher*, *Ins Armenhaus*, *Moloch Grossstadt*, *Unsere Zeit*, *Arbeitslos*, *Handwerker einst!—Was jetzt—?* are mingled with others that sing the beauty of nature, home and love. The modern milieu is illustrated in *Ein Lebensbild* beginning:

Feuerfunken sprüht der Schlot
Auf zum grauen Firmamente,
Blutigroth die Flamme loht
Tief im Grunde; ohne Ende
Dort Cyclopen, schwarz berusst,
Kaum der eignen Macht bewusst,
Rühren die geschäft'gen Hände.¹⁰⁶

Two men who have been quite active in the circles of organized labor and have written extensively in its behalf are George Biedenkapp and W. L. Rosenberg. The former who came to America in 1885 at the age of forty-two, published three volumes of poetry, one, *Trost in Liedern* in Germany, and *Sankta Libertas* (1893) and *Brennende Strophen und Lieder* (1900) at New York. Besides he wrote numerous stories, occasional poems, prologues, and songs which were published chiefly in New York papers. His *Der Freiheit Hochgesang*, *Das freie Wort*, *Das freie Lied*, *Das Banner hoch*, and *Festgruss* are often sung at labor gatherings. Two dramas, in

¹⁰⁵ Letter of February 25, 1916.

¹⁰⁶ *Gedichte*, p. 67.

manuscript, *Die Sizilianerin* and *Die von Stachelwitz* were performed with great success before a workingmen's audience. Several collections of his poems are still unpublished. He still contributes occasional poems to German Socialist papers.

Biedenkapp is quite severe almost bitter at times in his indictment of the predatory rich. He likes to portray the misery of the 'dispossessed' and the extravagance of the rich. Typical are the following two stanzas quoted from *Die Hungrigen und die Satten*:

Hier unnennbarer Ueberfluss
In Villen und Palästen,
Durchrauscht von Glück und Hochgenuss
Und bachanal'schen Festen.

Dort nied're Hütten, morsch und klein,
Dem Sturze nah, zerfallend,
Und drinnen Elend, Not und Pein
Dumpf grässlich widerhallend.¹⁶⁷

The sweat shop he portrays:

Im ärmlichen Kleid—im Martergewand—
Zum Tode verblasst und betrüblich,
So sitzt in der Hütte des "Sklaven" Weib,
Hartschaffend und—weinend, wie's üblich.

Die Stirn verwelket, der Blick so matt,
Das Antlitz, ein schmerzlich Entbehren;
Die Nadel, der Faden, kaum gehn sie noch durch,
Als wollten dem Elend sie wehren.¹⁶⁷

It is distinctly a poetry of protest written with this intention in view. In the execution of the Chicago anarchists Biedenkapp sees the oppression of labor by capital which leads him to prophesy the coming revolution and the downfall of the second present day Babylon. The capitalist wallows in the abundance extorted from the laborers, and the Glückauf of the miners sounds to him like a cry from the infernal regions below.

The social conscience of W. L. Rosenberg of Cleveland has likewise been thoroughly awakened. As an author and poet he has

¹⁶⁷ *Sankta Libertas*, pp. 30 and 71.

been a constant and consistent friend of the toiler. He was born at Hamm, Westphalia, in 1850. After receiving a good education he became a teacher of Latin and French at Frankfort on the Main, however, his articles in the *Neue Welt* and other papers aroused the ire of the censor so that after the passage of the anti-Socialist laws he left in 1880 for the United States. After teaching a while at Boston he was called to Chicago to edit the *Fackel*. From 1884 to 1890 he was at New York working in the interests of the Socialist Labor Party. The next six years he lived at Cincinnati devoting himself exclusively to literary and journalistic work. Since 1896 he has been engaged in the same line of work at Cleveland. His works include *Lieder und Gedichte* (1881), *Aus dem Reiche des Tantalus* (1888), a series of eleven sketches portraying typical experiences of the unfortunate poor, *Irrfahrten, Eine soziale Lebensgeschichte* (1880), the dramas, *Vor der Wahlschlacht* (1886), *Crumbleton* (1898), and a series of other shorter dramas broaching social and political questions. Among his latest books are *An der Weltenwende* (1910) and *Krieg dem Kriege, Gedichte* (1915).

Rosenberg's productions have a naturalistic trend; they present the unaesthetic sides of modern society as well as the deepest yearnings of the human heart. To him truth is more stirring than fiction. He shows great sympathy for the homeless, the oppressed, for all those that fail to fit into the present social structure. The didactic element, although not always prominent, is clearly discernable in his works. Like his fellow-countryman, Freiligrath, he writes stirring socialistic verse, and like the "Moderne" he tends to the naturalistic in his plays. He considers the Bourgeois poets antiquated and applies the standard of historic materialism to his mode of thinking. He is an ardent advocate of a stage for the laboring classes and some of his dramas were written with this purpose in view.

An der Weltenwende is, doubtless, his most pretentious work. The title suggests the author's point of view. The book is dedicated to the underdog:

Ich weiss zwar, dass die Welt nicht denkt,
Noch fühlt, wie ich es tu';
Die Welt vom König bis zum Knecht
Ist nicht wie ich und du.

Drum schert's mich keinen Deut fürwahr,
 Ob sie mich unrecht schilt;
 Im Kampf mein Arm dem schwächern Hund,
 Der unten liegt, nur gilt.
 * * * * *

Among the best in this book are the *Trampphilosophien* and *Aus Percivals Tagebuch*; in the former is the beautiful ballad:

Wir gingen zu Viert auf dem Schienenstrang,
 Vier Tramps, die eiserne Strasse entlang.¹⁶⁸

The latter begins with the verses:

Ich weiss nicht, lieber Vater,
 Warum so arm wir sind?
 Warum die Mutter muss kargen
 Und leer ist Schrank und Spind?

Giebt's Butter und Brot nicht in Fülle,
 Und Fleisch und Kleider und Schuh?
 Man braucht nur gehen und holen.
 O, Vater, was schweigst du?¹⁶⁹

Robert Reitzel, the famous editor of *Der arme Teufel*, is often called the foremost writer of German prose in America. He was also a confirmed critic of modern social evaluations and a rebel who strove for inner freedom. His point of view was exceedingly individualistic and he gladly gave room in his paper to the dissatisfied Freethinker, Socialist, Anarchist, Turner, and others who had a jibe to take at the formalist, the Gothamist, and the Philistine.

He was born at Weitenau, Baden, in the eventful year of 1849. On the night of his birth gendarmes searched the Reitzel home for Georg Uehlin, an uncle, who had taken part in the Hecker insurrection. Robert was to study theology, but he neglected his studies, and read the romantic poets, sang, drank, fought duels, and lived the life of a jovial student generally. When yet a youth he emigrated to America, where he led a wayfaring life for a time until assisted by a friend he got a position as pastor of a German Reformed church in Washington; however, he was soon dismissed from the

¹⁶⁸ *An der Weltenwende*, p. 102.

¹⁶⁹ *An der Weltenwende*, p. 136 ff.

synod on account of his heretical ideas. He now became an itinerant lecturer, speaking to Independent Congregations, Turner societies, and radical clubs. During this time he read much of Karl Heinzen, Schünemann-Pott, Strauss, Feuerbach, and Karl Vogt, and became a warm admirer of them. To this study and propaganda he added social problems, and the principles of Socialism and Anarchism.

In Socialism Reitzel admired not its science and system, but its revolutionary influence on the torpid masses, and the ensuing stimulus and stirring-up of the mind in the field of poetry and art. He had the peculiar gift to seek out what was original, genuine, and unconventional. As a poet he remained faithful to the classicists, but also admired Holz, Henckell, Parnizza, Mackay, Wille, Hartleben, Hauptmann, and Wedekind.

His poems are few in number; a number are published in the second volume of his collected works. The socialistic tendency is quite evident as, for example, in *An das Proletariat*, beginning:

Als Gott sich auf sich selber besann,
Da schuf er die Nobeln, die Arier,
Als er zum zweitenmale begann,
Da wurden es Proletarier.¹⁷⁰

Reminiscent of the Chicago tragedy, he writes in the "Telegramstyl":

Dem Armen—Wein,
Dem Reichen—Tränen,
Schluckt's nur hinein!
Der Stillen Lieb'—
Erfülltes Sehnen!
Dem Hunger—Brot,
Dem Geiz—den Stein—
*O könnt's so sein!*¹⁷¹

In addition to poems of a socialistic tendency by Reitzel and others, numerous essays of this character appeared in *Der arme Teufel*. Some of these were reprinted in the third volume of Reitzel's collected works.

¹⁷⁰ *Des armen Teufel gesammelte Schriften*, II, 17 ff.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, I, 15 f.

After Reitzel's death in 1898, Martin Drescher continued *Der arme Teufel* for two years, when it stopped publication. Drescher took up the spiritual heritage of Reitzel, but he lacks the latter's originality and Heinesque wit. Drescher was born at Wittstock and came to America about twenty-five years ago, where he also had to tramp and make his living by all sorts of odd jobs.

Unstät und flüchtig von Land zu Land
Bin ich durchs Leben gezogen,
Ueber sengenden Wüstensand,
Durch des Ozeans schimmernde Wogen.¹⁷²

At present he is engaged in journalistic and literary work at Chicago. He has contributed many poems to contemporary newspapers, but his fame as a poet rests chiefly on his *Gedichte*, published at Chicago in 1909. The poems are printed under the headings: *Aus der Tiefe, Wanderzeit, Vom grossen Kampf, Menschen und Werke, Sommerbriefe aus dem Schlupfwinkel, Tagebuchblätter, Aus fremden Gärten*, and *Maria Magdalena, Ein Schauspiel*. They are the expressions of some of the emotions resulting from experiences of the author who longs for the beautiful, yet cannot comprehend how the enjoyment of the beautiful can go hand in hand with an impure social fiber.

The poet's sympathy goes out to the shelterless lovers by the wayside, the deserving poor, the outcasts of society, the homeless, the married couple who struggle hard to establish a home, and the like. Many of his poems have a tinge of sadness and but few are marred by didactic preachments, nevertheless the import of all is unmistakable. His "Vaganten-Lieder" are among the best that the German American muse has produced. He portrays the joys and sorrows of the social misfits:

Durch die Strassen der Weltstadt streift
Langsam ein hagrter Geselle.
Ueber die glänzenden Läden schweift
Lässig sein Auge, das helle.

Gestern noch hundert Meilen fern,
Hat er den Frachtzug erklommen,

¹⁷² *Gedichte*, p. 7.

Ist er im Glauben an seinen Stern
Nach Chicago gekommen.¹⁷³

Vom grossen Kampf has to do with burning social questions of the day, as child labor, the unemployed, love and marriage, the social evil, capital and labor, the revolutionary spirit of labor, and the contrast of rich and poor. Drescher is distinctly critical in his attitude and does not fail to see the dark side. He rejoices to see a crowd of children on the street, but he continues:

Flicken tragen sie alle am Kleid,
Rechtes Elendsgelichter.
Und, so jung sie, das Herzleid
Spricht aus dem Grau der Gesichter.

Was ist da los? Du weisst es nicht?
Warte, dass ich's dir sage:
Diese Kinder halten Gericht
Ueber die Schmach unsrer Tage.¹⁷⁴

The struggle for mere bread is depicted in *Ein bisschen Brot*,¹⁷⁴ and in *Alltagsgeschichte* he pictures the happy home:

Die Jahre gingen. Ein Stück Sonnenschein
Lag auf den billig eingekauften Sachen.
Durch enge Stübchen, schmuck und peinlich rein,
Klang Vaters Witz, klang helles Kinderlachen.
Und wenn ein neuer Zuwachs zappelnd schrie,
Die braune Käthe wusste sich geborgen.
Sie sumnte keck nach eigener Melodie:
"Zwei harte Fäuste werden weiter sorgen."¹⁷⁵

But the unemployment soon brings misery and care.

Sometimes the poet forgets the strife of the day and becomes reminiscent as in *Sommerfest*, *Nach zwanzig Jahren*, *Mutter ist tot*, *Der Ulmenbaum*, and *In der Fremde*. Among the poets he addresses in poems are Poe, Reitzel, Wilhelm Busch, F. T. Vischer, Liliencron, Edna Fern, and Konrad Nies.

Drescher employs various strophic forms but he shows a preference for the sonnet of which seventy-four occur in his *Gedichte*.

¹⁷³ *Gedichte*, p. 48 f.

¹⁷⁴ *Gedichte*, pp. 72, and 78.

¹⁷⁵ *Gedichte*, p. 90.

The strophe of the folk song and the rhymed couplet are also favorites.

Closely associated with Reitzel and Drescher as writers are Edna Fern (Mrs. Fernande Richter) and Hedwig Vogel. The former has published short stories, Märchen, and poems in which she veils her ideas of life and love. In her sketches she inclines toward naturalism. Her poems usually have nature as a background:

Doch die Wolken hoch am Himmel
Kümmert nicht der Vogelschrei, (of "Tendenz")
Und der lieben, goldnen Sonne
Ist Tendenz ganz einerlei.¹⁷⁶

However the poems *Armut und Reichtum*, *Vagabunden*, and *Homestead 1892* do broach economic questions. Hedwig Vogel contributed many poems to contemporary newspapers. They treat chiefly of "der Liebe Lust und Leid," but also of the striving of modern society to attain new ideals.

Among the present-day writers is Otto Sattler, of New York. He was born at Emmendingen, Baden, in 1872, learned book-binding, studied philosophy and literature at the University of Zurich, traveled for about fifteen years, visiting many parts of the globe, and is now a journalist, writer, and lecturer at New York. Among his published works are *Stille und Sturm*, *Gedichte* (1910), *New York und die Welt*, *Gedichte* (1913), and *Krieg, Gedichte der Zeit* (1915). *Stille und Sturm* takes the reader from the ruins of a mediæval castle near the author's quiet birthplace to the busy metropolitan city of New York. The background of the poems is exceedingly modern; there appear, for example, furnaces belching forth smoke and flames, the factory laborer working to the monotonous click of the machine, the honk, honk of the automobile, the big ocean liner calling at all parts of the world, the blue electrical sparks, the sweat shop, and the modern Belshazzar's feast. Frequently Dame Care, an effervescent, nebular something, peeps in at the window. The poet's style shows the characteristics of the "Moderne."

¹⁷⁶ *Gesammelte Schriften, IV. Leben, Liebe, Gestalten, Dichtungen*, p. 1.

Like Thoreau he often laments over the fact that modern industrial progress mars the beauties of nature—

Ja, ich liebe dich, du neue Zeit,
Ich lieb dein dampfumzisches Eisenkleid,
Die blauen elektrischen Funken.
Doch wenn ich durch die alten Wälder geh
Und sie von unsrer Zeit verwüstet seh,
Ist mir, als wäre uns ein grosses Glück versunken.¹⁷⁷

With a few strokes of his poetic brush he brings out the contrast of nature and the machine in *Der blaue Morgen* * * *

Der blaue Morgen über der Grossstadt strahlt,
Mit lichten Farben Friedensbilder malt—
Ich schau ihm sinnend zu—da—ein schriller Pfiff! * *
Ich schreck auf!—Die Fabrik! * * * Ich renn in
ihren Eisengriff.—¹⁷⁸

The many dashes and shortened forms remind one of the "Geniezeit." In *Es blühen die Linden*, little girls, winding wreaths of flowers on a meadow, are contrasted with eight hundred people working in a noisy, unsanitary factory. The symbolical figure of Want also stares into the factory window. *Aus den Schloten* treats a similar theme. *Könnt ich doch ziehn* * * * reminds one of *Mignon's Lied* and *Es dengelte der Bauer*—is in the vein of the folk song, the second stanza illustrates the style:

Es hatte der Bauer ein feuriges Kind,
Des Mädels Haar löste der lustige Wind—
Da kamen mir gute Ideen;
Die Ideen,
Die lassen sich leicht wohl verstehen.¹⁷⁸

In *New York und die Welt* are found the typical striking scenes of the metropolis. The elevated train rattles past the clothes lines and fire escapes of the East Side, the steam drill is penetrating the rock for a foundation for a new fifty-story sky-scraper, the clatter of the steel riveting machine is heard, laborers go to work, furnaces glow—in short, all the hurry and bustle of a busy city.

¹⁷⁷ *Stille und Sturm*, p. 41.

¹⁷⁸ *Stille und Sturm*, pp. 57 and 53.

Veilchen illustrates a type of poems in this collection:

Aus fahlgelben Gesichtern
von kleinen Buben
und Mädchen
glühn schwarze Augen auf den Werk Tisch,
wo der Kinder schnelle Finger
Tuchveilchen formen.

Am obern Ende
sitzt die italienische Mutter
und schafft,
und hüstelt,
und treibt mit harter Stimme
die Kleinen zur Arbeit.

* * * *

Und über den Platz
kommt der Weg in einer Linie
durch den weissen Triumphbogen
zur fünften Avenue New Yorks.

Es kommt die Strasse
geradeaus von der Hölle der Armut
zum Himmel der Reichen.¹⁷⁹

Here, as in other poems, Sattler's poetic forms become mere dithyrambs and the usual poetic strophes are not employed.

A discussion of the prose works exhibiting a naturalistic or socialistic phase would extend the limits of this paper too far. Just a brief mention will be made. Many of the forty-eighters essayed to portray the times and to clad their pet theories in stories, sketches, and novels. Such writers are Adolf Douai, F. O. Dresel, Reinhard Solger, Udo Brachvogel, George Lippard, Gustave Struve, and others.

The popularity of Sue's *Les Mystères de Paris* (1842) also spread to America. About 1844 V. W. Fröhlich published a translation of it in a German paper of Cincinnati, which was later put out in book form by Jakob Uhl at New York without date. In 1850 appeared anonymously *Die Geheimnisse von Philadelphia* at Philadelphia. The introduction states that the purpose of the book is

¹⁷⁹ *New York und die Welt*, p. 60.

to expose the terrible corruption which undermines a part of our social structure; it continues: "Wir müssen die einfache Wahrheit hören und die nackte ungeschminkte Wirklichkeit sehen; wir müssen die kostbaren Paläste der Reichen und ihre augenverblenden Schönheiten durchwandern und in die ekelhaft schmutzigen Hütten der Armen hinabsteigen und von ihrem Elende genießen!"

In chapter one Chestnut and Bedford Streets are contrasted. A year later followed Börnstein's *Geheimnisse von St. Louis*, and in 1855 Klauprecht's *Cincinnati, oder Die Geheimnisse des Westens*.¹⁸⁰

Lippard's *Empire City or New York by Night*, Brachvogel's *Der Trödler, ein Roman aus dem Alltagsleben* and *King Corn*, and Struve's *Eine Proletarierin* are likewise naturalistic in their treatment. More distinctly socialistic and didactic are Otto-Walster's *Am Webstuhl der Zeit* (1873) and *Allerhand Proletarier* (1874). His works seem never to have been collected; in the newspapers he edited he published numerous novels, and poems. Max Arlberg (pseud. for G. Rhomberg) published *Joseph Freifeld, Ein Sozialroman aus dem deutschamerikanischen Leben* (1891), and J. J. Messmer *Im Strome der Zeit oder Kapital und Arbeit Bilder aus dem Arbeiterleben der Gegenwart*. (1883). Otto Ruppis was greatly interested in the development of the laborer. In his novels he portrays chiefly the struggle of the German immigrant. Charles Sealsfield portrays in his novels the public and private, social, political and religious life of a whole people who take the place of the usual novelistic hero.¹⁸¹

¹⁸⁰ Cf. Hellmuth Mielke, *Der deutsche Roman*, Dresden, 1912, pp. 96-103.

¹⁸¹ Cf. *Emigration to America Reflected in German Fiction* by P. A. Barba in *German American Annals*, N. S., XII, 193 ff.

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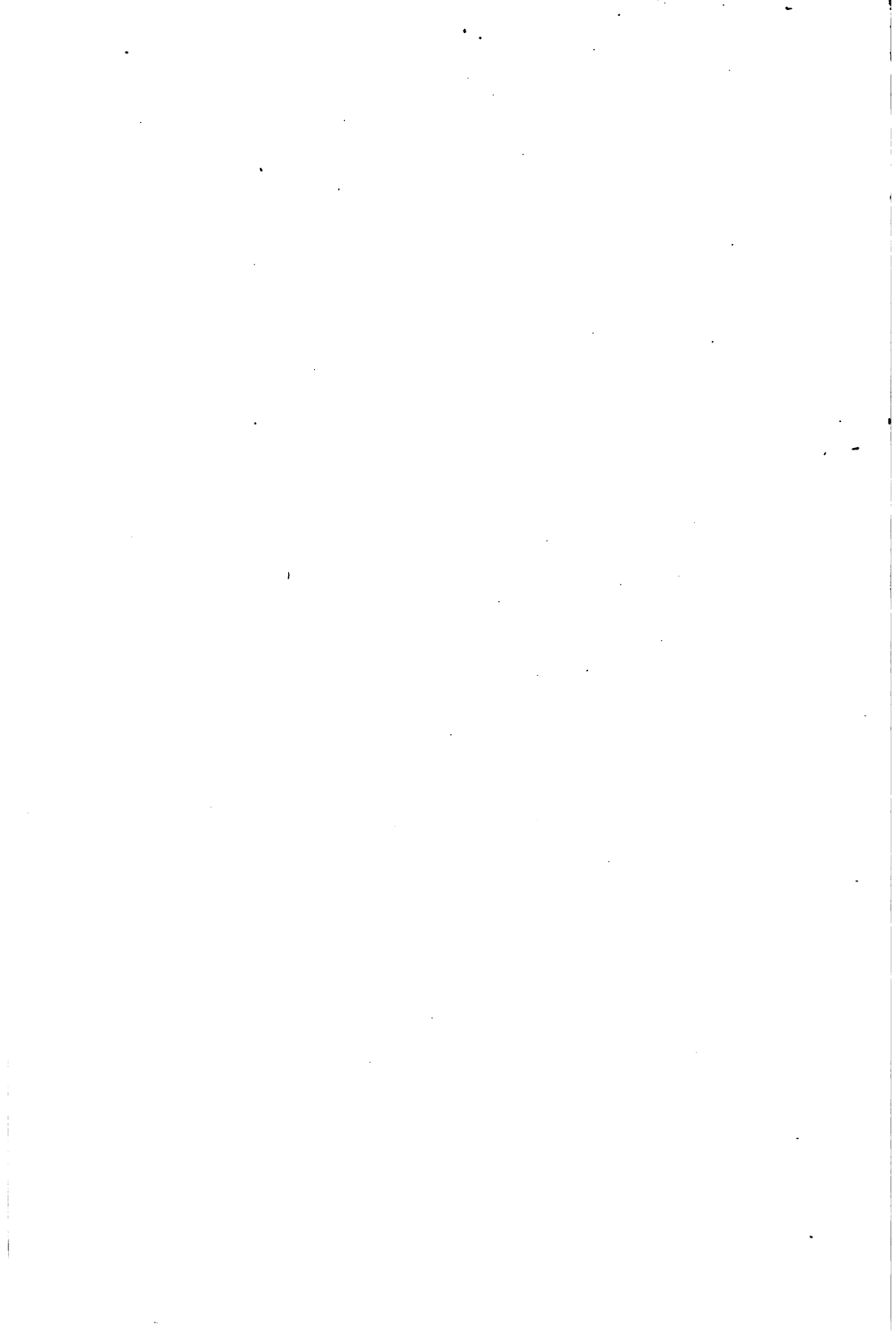
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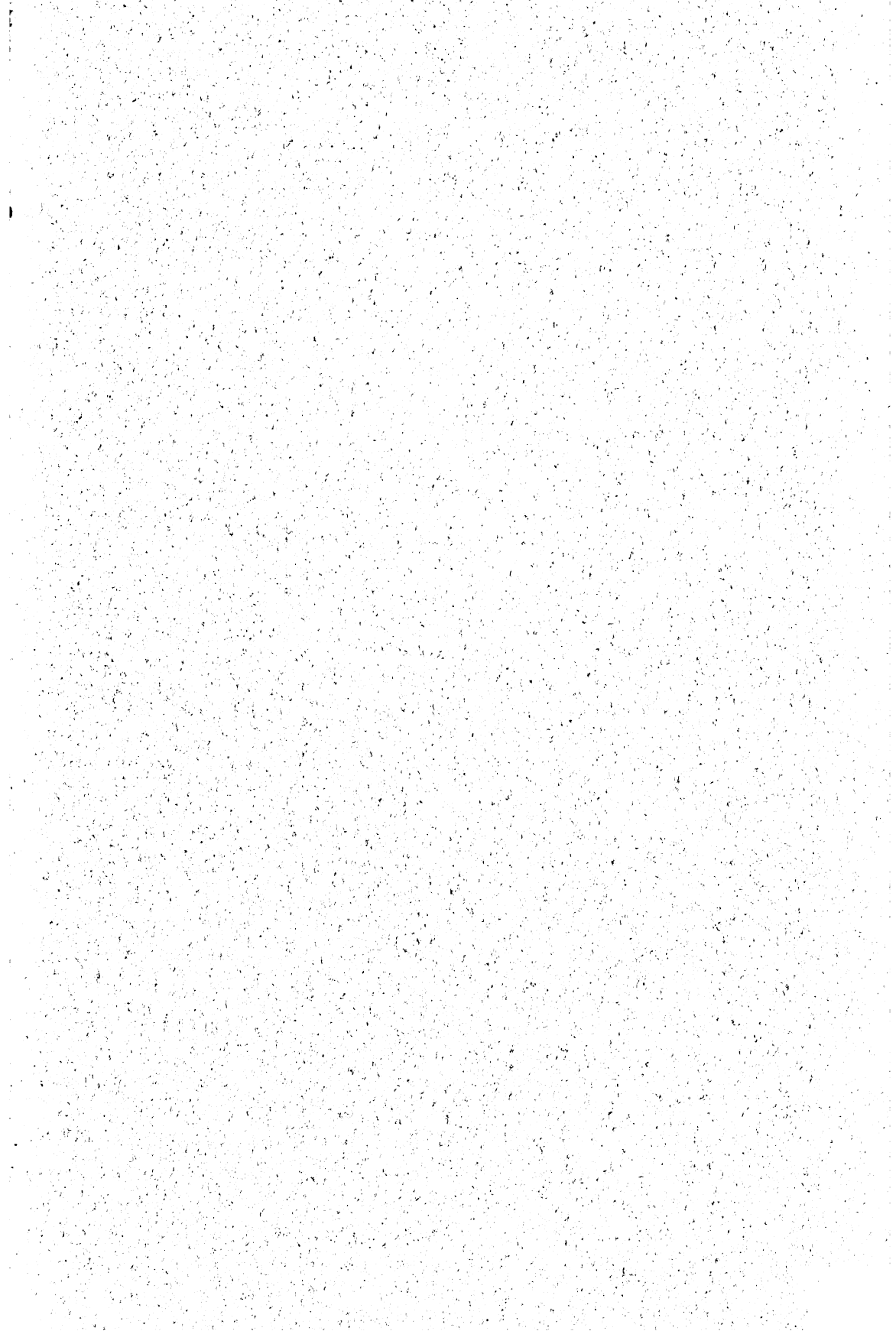
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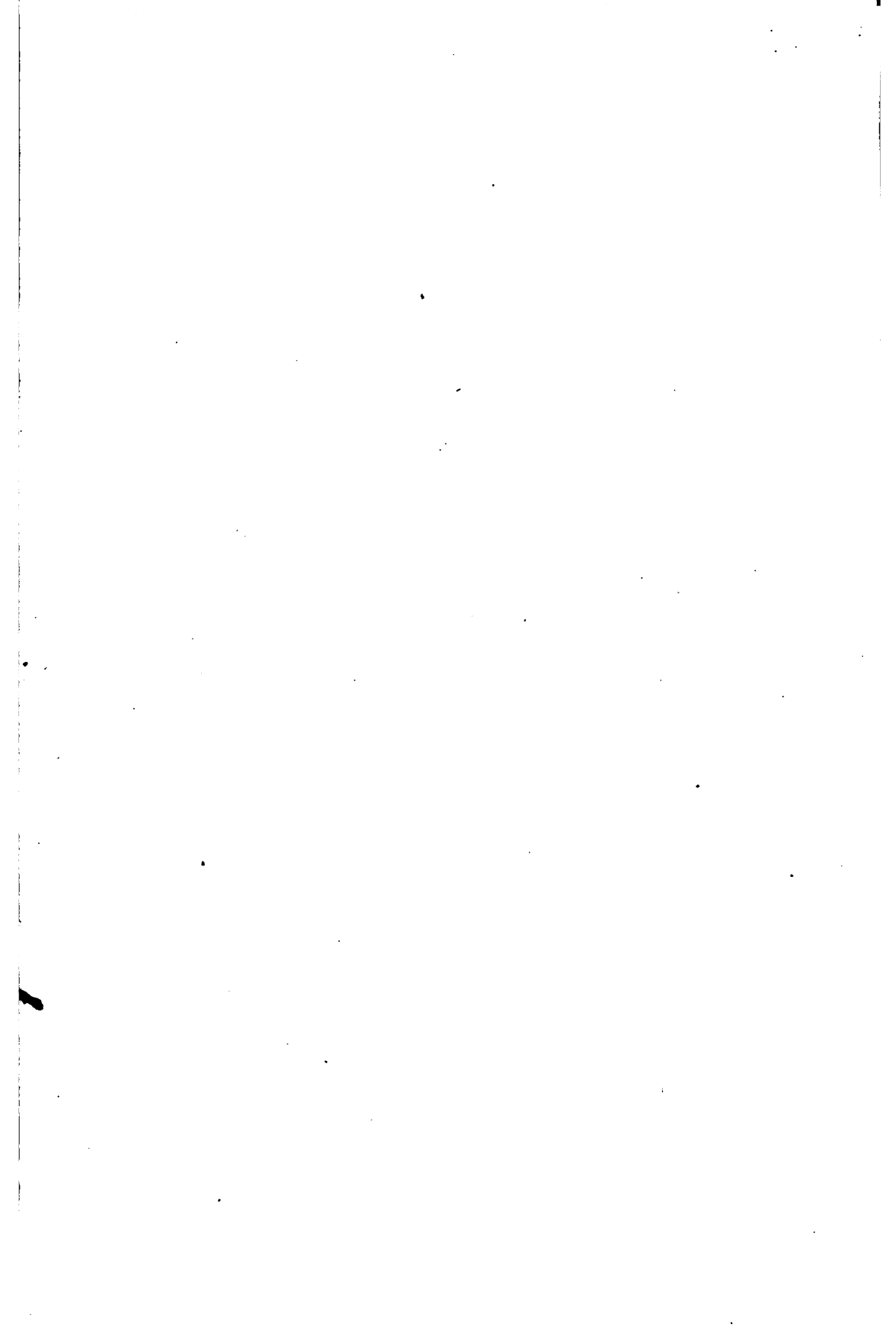
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